

Vol. XVII

AUGUST, 1909

No. 2

THE COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE

FEATURES



The Black Spectre in Georgia

Slavery in Massachusetts

By CLEMENT RICHARDSON

Her Heritage

The Grab For Liberia

New York and The Fighting Tenth

The Negro in Politics

By HARRIS DICKSON

Brewer and The Negro

EDITORIAL

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A startling confirmation of our belief that the Era of Universal Typewriting is at hand.

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Preparations of Madame Louise

The subject of our sketch, Miss Edna Louise Anderson, was born in the city of New York, but of recent years with her family has been making her summer home in Atlantic City her permanent residence. Miss Anderson is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. William Henry Anderson, who were both of two of the oldest families of New York City. When quite young, deprived of her father's care, she was reared under the protection of her grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Isaiah R. Brown. Her liberal education was left to her mother; from early youth there was shown that strong desire for traveling which has now been fully enjoyed, for there are few places of note in the United States and Canada that she has not visited. The experience gained has been one of her most valued assets in this life; contact with persons and knowledge of places and things helped to widen her already thoughtful mind to the possibilities of her people and the patient soul.

Miss Anderson, possessed of good musical ability, was once identified popularly with the theatrical world. Acting on the advice of her physician, she gave up the stage for literature and the more contemplative life. Miss Anderson is the moving factor in the "Edna Louise Olive Company" and writes usually under the nom de plume of "Louise."

In the June number of our magazine our readers are able to read one of her latest to the Colored American, which is a fair sample of what can be expected from the pen of Miss Anderson, or rather "Louise."

The Edna Louise Olive Company preparations are very extensively used, and in every case nothing but the highest praise has been given.

They are manufactured solely by the Edna Louise Company. Address all letters to the Edna Louise Olive Company, 1407 Wabash Avenue, Atlantic City, N. J.

Her preparations are on sale at the following places: Ingram's drug store, Morris' drug store, Colton's drug store, Ralston's drug store, Patrick's drug store, of Atlantic City; A. E. Edward's Hair Dressing Parlor, Atlantic City; Mrs. Williams, Weir Street, Smith Landing, Atlantic City; William Davis, 514 Green Street, Lancaster, Pa., and A. E. Williams, 4830 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Price of Olive Hair Pomade is 25 cents for small size boxes, and 50 cents for large size. Olive Hair Tonic is 50 cents per bottle.



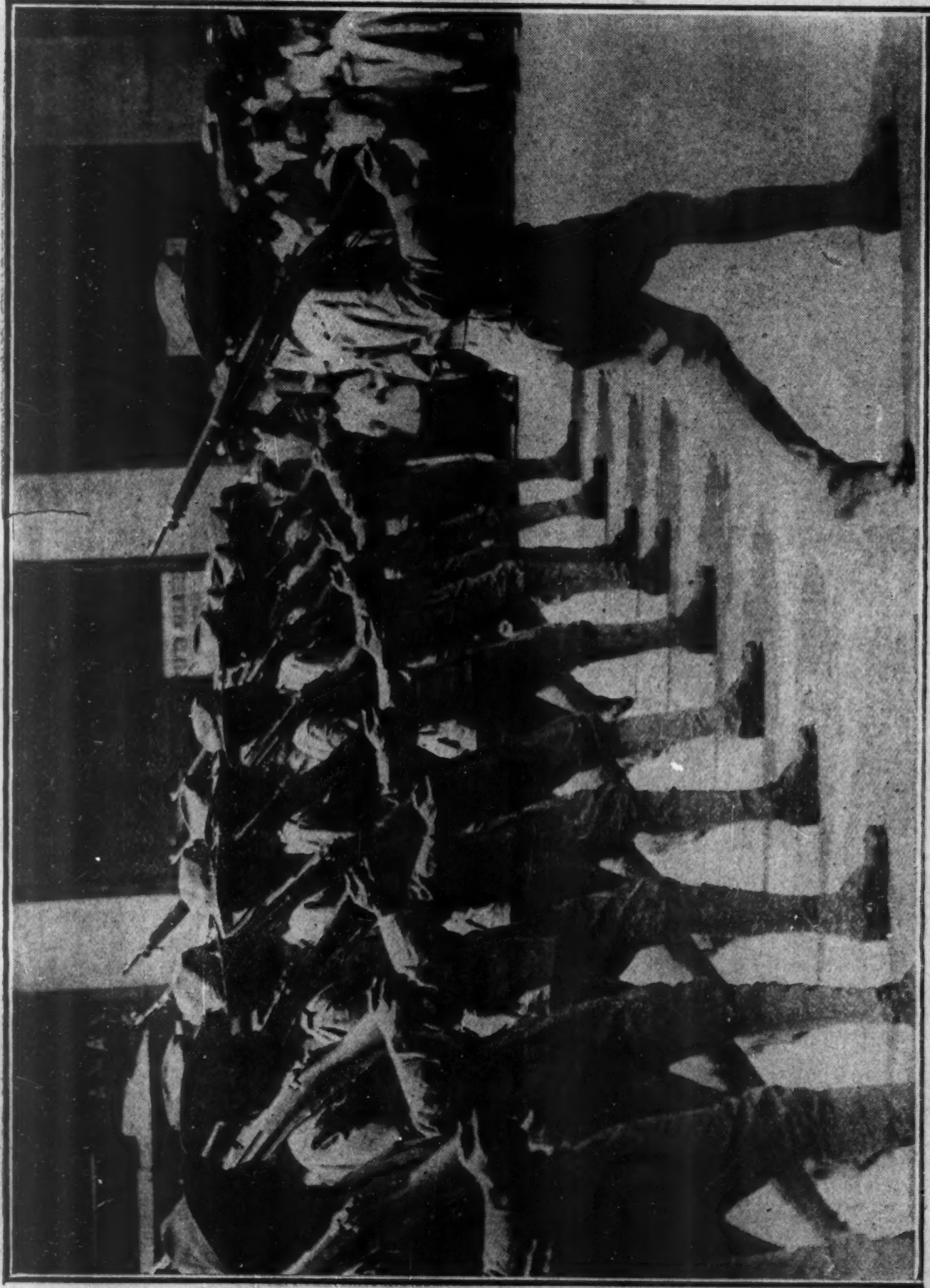
MISS EDNA LOUISE ANDERSON

The Colored American Magazine

GEORGE W. HARRIS, Editor

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RETURN OF THE TENTH CAVALRY FROM THE PHILIPPINES

THE COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE

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THE MONTH



FROM a national point of view, the month of July for Negroes was one of pronounced inactivity. The black American's ship seems to have struck the calm, and whether that calm is the one that precedes the storm or the one in which he can make his way unopposed by the elements, no one ventured to say. The appointments unofficially promised at Washington for July have not materialized. On the other hand, there comes to us apparently authentic reports as to the lopping off of Negroes in the Federal service, as in Texas, and the persistent monopolization by the Lily Whites of the Republican party of the South. But the wise ones have continued to look wise and smile knowingly. Now that the tariff bill is out of the way, some Negro appointments are looked for. As yet the final adjustment of the tariff cannot be stated. But the fact that President

Taft seems satisfied indicates that his campaign pledge of substantial revision downward has been kept. Chairman Payne of the House committee states as much. The most striking provision settled upon at this writing is the free trade provision for the Philippines. There will be free trade with the islands save for liberal limitations upon sugar, tobacco and cigar imports.

POLITICAL

President Taft has made his first noteworthy Negro appointment in the North, naming James M. Alexander, of Los Angeles, as cashier under the collector for the Sixth Internal Revenue District of California. The President states that his appointment was made because it was the intention of President Roosevelt to appoint Mr. Alexander, but the money was not available to organize the office until the beginning of the present fiscal year, on July 1. Governor Glasscock, of West Virginia, has reappointed J. C. Gil-

mer State Librarian for a term of four years from March 4 last.

Although there were several other applicants for the position, Governor Glasscock considered Mr. Gilmer the most eligible. Librarian Gilmer is one of the best known Negroes in West Virginia, and is editor of the *Charleston Advocate*. His appointment has occasioned general satisfaction.

A number of minor promotions and appointments in the department service were made at Washington during the month. From high sources it comes to us that President Simon, of Haiti, has directed Minister Sannon to state to the American State Department that Haiti would be pleased to have the American minister, Dr. H. W. Furniss, returned. At the expiration of a two months' sojourn in this country, accompanied by Mrs. Furniss, the American minister sailed from New York for his post July 10. Collector of Internal Revenue for the Second District of New York Charles W. Anderson has taken up his office again, being reinducted into office during the early days of the month.

EDUCATIONAL

President W. G. Frost of Berea College, makes the announcement that the construction of the separate institution for Negroes, Lincoln Institute, will begin at once. The Lincoln Institute will be situated on a site of 600 acres purchased secretly in Shelby County, ten miles from Shelbyville, Ky. The adjustment fund of \$400,000 has been completed, \$350,000 subscribed by Andrew Carnegie, Mrs. Sage and other Northern philanthropists,

and \$50,000 by Kentuckians, mostly Negroes.

Jeanes Fund Board Meeting.

The executive committee of the Jeanes Fund Board held a meeting in New York a few days ago, at which were present Dr. James H. Dillard, president of the Board; Major R. R. Moton, Dr. Booker T. Washington, Bishop A. Grant, the Hon. R. L. Smith, Dr. Samuel C. Mitchell, and Dr. H. B. Frissell.

At this meeting an appropriation of \$25,000 was made to help various small rural schools in the South.

Bishop Grant came all the way from the State of Kansas, and the Hon. R. L. Smith from Texas, for the purpose of attending this meeting.

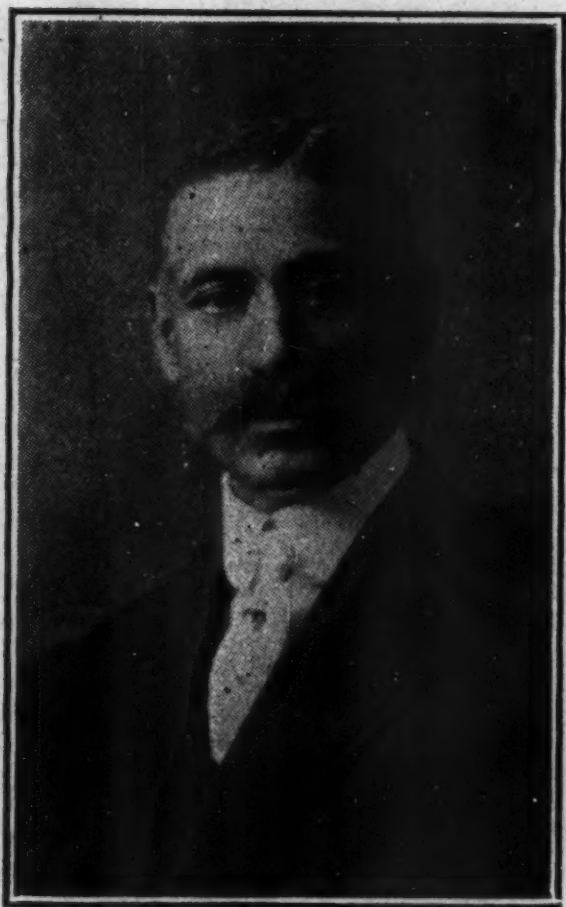
The greatest shake-up in the history of the Washington colored schools came upon the recommendation of Assistant Superintendent Roscoe C. Bruce.

At the M Street High School the principal was removed and reduced to a mere teacher, and several teachers were transferred, "for the good of the service," to Armstrong Manual Training School, whose principal is a strict disciplinarian.

The Board sustained Superintendent Bruce. It dismissed, with almost contempt, the charge preferred against him by the Citizens' Association, a close corporation of malcontents.

BUSINESS AND GENERAL

During the session of the Texas Negro Business League, held in Waco July 6 and 7, it was made known to the members of the League that recently an effort was made to oust all Negro laborers on the Southern Pacific Railroad at Hous-



THOMAS JOHNSON

ton, Tex., but to no good purpose.

The information was given during the address of J. B. Bell, of Houston, who said that a delegation of whites went to New York and petitioned the management to replace hundreds of Negroes working on the Southern Pacific with white laborers; that the request was flatly turned down, the delegation being in-

formed that the Negro workmen were giving the railroad satisfaction.

This year's session of the League will be remembered as the most eventful in the history of the organization. The meeting was held at the City Hall, and appropriate addresses were made during the session. Although the Texas Negro Business League has not the large membership of some of the State bodies, it is in a healthy and thriving condition. The thirty-odd delegates present represented over a quarter of a million dollars' worth of wealth in their own rights as individuals.

Thomas Johnson, for twenty-eight years confidential man to the theatrical magnates, Klaw & Erlanger, has invented in his new window washer not only a time but a life saving device.

Rising in the might of their wrath against the theatre discriminations, the Negroes of the national capital, under the leadership of Architect Pittman, are going to build a \$400,000 Lincoln memorial building, to include a theatre, stores and offices.

The Masonic grand officers living in Boston are planning a \$200,000 memorial lodge hall to Prince Hall, the founder of the independent order.



James H. Williams and His Success at Grand Central Terminal

By J. E. ROBINSON

IT IS commonly said that when a colored man is elevated or promoted to an official position in a business where he is employed with others of the various nationalities he usually proves his right to the task assigned to him by either showing superior ability over his rivals, or discharging his duties just as well. While to the mind of the writer the above cannot be said of all men of color who gain a promotion, yet it can be uttered with force about many of them. Especially is it illustrated by the official work of Mr. James H. Williams, at Grand Central Terminal, which is one of the largest in America. Mr. Williams holds one of the most responsible positions—as little as it is known—at this great railway station, that of chief of the Red Cap attendants.

When C. L. Bardo, superintendent of the Grand Central Terminal, promoted Mr. Williams to this position it is said that he did so largely because the young man had for seven years shown himself to be an honest, faithful and trustworthy employee, one who had the ability to succeed where rare skill, devotion and diplomacy are prime requisites. Under the management of Mr. Williams the

system under which the Red Cap attendants work has been improved wonderfully. The men are considered by the traveling public to be the best attired and disciplined body of men to be found at any railway terminal. The services of the men are highly praised by the traveling public, and in giving information they are considered especially valuable. Those who have given years of their services at Grand Central Terminal and



JAMES H. WILLIAMS

who are in a position to know state that no chief attendant ever discharged his duties with more dignity or stood higher in the estimation of the men than Mr. Williams. Just to show him what they think of his excellent work and his fair and square way of dealing with them, a few months ago the night division of the Red Cap attendants presented him with a fine traveling bag made by one of the best manufacturers of leather goods in the city. Similar presentations have also been made to him by the day men.

In his official capacity Mr. Williams has four assistants—John Matthews, director of the night men; J. F. Scott, foreman in charge of the Lexington Avenue station; E. C. Cleaton, who is in charge of the Forty-second Street tracks, and Daniel Taylor, captain of the Vanderbilt Avenue men.

Besides Mr. Williams' business quali-

fications, his social life has also been bright and interesting. He is the son of Mr. and Mrs. John Wesley Williams, and was born August 4, 1878. He graduated from Public School No. 80 when that institution was in West Seventeenth Street.

In 1897 he married Miss Lucy Metresh, a charming young lady of Stamford, Conn. The couple are now the parents of four handsome children. In fraternal orders Mr. Williams is a member of Manhattan Lodge of Odd Fellows, a Royal Arch and Blue House Mason, a member of Ivanhoe Commandery, and Medina Temple. He is also Esteemed Loyal Knight of Manhattan Lodge, No. 45, I. B. P. O. E. of W. When the latter lodge elected its six delegates to attend the annual convention of Elks at Detroit, Mich., August 9th-12th, Mr. Williams was chosen one of them.

THE BROWN AND THE BLUE.

Out from your homes, ye patriots all!
Ye son of Ethiope true!
With hearts a-leap at the bugle call,
At the line of heroes, bronzed and tall,
The brown that wears the blue;
From distant Orient isles they come
Back to the mother strand,
Salute them, trump and sounding drum!
Salute them, heart and hand!

Old Glory's stripes are shining red
With our good soldiers' gore,
Since Attucks fell and Salem bled,
Black fighters 'neath its folds have led
The fight in every war.
At Pillow and Wagner's hellish fray
On San Juan's blazing hill;
And the blood that flowed at El Caney
Has drenched it deeper still.

What though an envious hate and pride
Upon us fix their bans?
What though our birthright be denied?
One glory they can never hide—
We are Americans!
And when the dangers darkly reach
Across the nation's sky,
We hurl our lives into the breach
To suffer, bleed and die.

AUBREY BOWSER

Forsyth Savings and Trust Company



PRESIDENT J. S. HILL
of the Forsyth Savings and Trust Company, Winston Salem, N. C.

As one of those tests of civilization—the bank—THE COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE has been seeking to get at the concrete and actual of the Negro banks of the Southland. In response to just such a request, President J. S. Hill of the Forsyth Savings and Trust Company, located on Church Street, in the thrifty

town of Winston Salem, N. C., has the following to say:

“The Forsyth Savings and Trust Company was chartered by the Legislature of North Carolina January 31, 1907. Our first day's deposits were \$1,321.90. We pay 4 per cent. on time deposits, compounding quarterly.

"To-day we have more than three hundred depositors. Our manner of doing business has won for us the confidence of the people. Our volume of business averages from \$20,000 to \$25,000 monthly. The interest grows daily.

"We trust the day is near at hand when our people will see the importance of doing business among themselves and building up their own institutions. Building a banking institution among our people is the very best solution of the so-called race problem. It requires one united effort on our part to be a strong race, and that is to combine ourselves together and do business together. We can build up a strong institution."

The cashier's report to the Directors of the Forsyth Savings and Trust Company for the month ended July 29, 1909, states:

Deposits subject to check, \$9,958.66; paid out on check, \$9,249.77; volume of business for the month, \$23,265.24.

The resources are: Loans and discounts, \$15,327.93; furniture, etc., \$411.45; due by W. L. and T. Co., \$1,500; due by W. N. Bank, \$819.79; in safe, \$919.91; over drafts, \$51.54—a total of \$19,030.62. The liabilities are: Capital paid, \$3,204; time deposits, \$11,134.23; check deposits, \$4,222.08; undivided profits, \$470.31—a total of \$19,030.62.

THE MAN WHO WINS.

The man who wins is an average man,
Not built on any particular plan,
Not blessed with any particular luck;
Just steady and earnest and full of
pluck.

When asked a question he does not
"guess"—
He knows and answer "No" or "Yes";
When set a task that the rest can't do,
He buckles down till he's put it
through.

Three things he's learned: That the
man who tries
Finds favor in his employer's eyes;
That it pays to know more than one
thing well;
That it doesn't pay all he knows to
tell.

So he works and waits, till one fine
day
There's a better job with bigger pay,
And the men who shirked whenever
they could
Are bossed by the man whose work
made good.

For the man who wins is the man
who works,
Who neither labor nor trouble shirks,
Who uses his hands, his head, his
eyes;
The man who wins is the man who
tries.

—Charles R. Barrett in Royal Trust
Monthly.



A FOOT BALL TEAM OF NEGRO SOLDIERS

The Black Spectre in Georgia

Critical for the Negro, the South and the Nation as is the outcome of the Georgia railroad strike situation, one of its most encouraging features has been the attitude of fair play almost unanimously exhibited by the press. The situation with all of its far-reaching importance is understood by American journalists. This is as it should be. All men should have an equal opportunity to make a living. Race prejudice has been largely made by the press. The Southern press especially has fed the Southern rabble with such light food. This republic has yet to learn that the Southern poor white and the Southern black must be lifted up if it would not be dragged down. The following fair article and symposium from *Current Literature* we here reproduce.—EDITOR.



ONCE more has the Banquo's ghost of American politics obtruded itself upon national attention. In the days of Washington and Jefferson the Negro question began to assume, in the minds of far-sighted statesmen, a threatening aspect. By the end of the first third of the nineteenth century, Webster and Clay and Calhoun were bending their best energies to lay the specter. By the end of the second third, it had forced the Union to the very brink of destruction. Throughout the last third, the political life of the nation was dominated by the problems and animosities it had conjured up. To-day, nearly half a century after the proclamation of emancipation, the specter still makes its unseasonable appearance at all sorts of inopportune times and leaves us shaking in our boots over what it might have done and what it may do next. The act of 1807 putting an end to the legal importation of slaves, failed to lay the ghost. The Clay compromise failed. The Dred Scott decision failed. Squatter sovereignty failed. The bloody arbitrament of arms failed. The fifteenth

and sixteenth amendments failed. The force laws failed. And now it begins to look as though the disfranchisement clauses of the Southern States are going to be an equal failure in putting this perturbed spirit permanently to rest.

As is the habit of ghosts, this black specter reappears at shorter and shorter intervals as time goes on. The Brownsville episode has not yet been completed. The Supreme Court of the United States has just found Sheriff Shipp, of Chattanooga, guilty of contempt of court for failing to carry out its instructions in the protection of a Negro prisoner. The scenes of the race riot in Atlanta are still fresh in memory. Last month, the Georgia railroad, with 500 miles of track, was for a week tied up almost completely and the use of federal troops seemed at one time to be imminent because a strike one time to be imminent because a strike immediately affecting only seventy men was aggravated by its combination with the race question. For years, practically all the Southern railways have employed both white and black men as firemen. Hitherto the custom has caused no disturbance of any consequence. The Georgia railroad be-

gan to employ Negro firemen six or eight years ago, increasing their number gradually, until it has had about thirty black to about eighty white firemen. The blacks performed their duties in a manner satisfactory to the railway officials, and the engineers for whom they stoked were apparently satisfied. The firemen on this road two years ago were paid one half the wages of the engineers—\$1.75 aday. A wage agreement between the railroad and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers terminated in 1907. The engineers and firemen in the Brotherhood then demanded an increase. The engineers, all of whom are white, got the increase. The firemen failed to get it. The Brotherhood officials attributed this failure to the fact that the Negro firemen, who were not in the union, were willing to work for less than the union men demanded.

There was still another fact that aggravated the union men. As the white firemen became proficient, they were promoted to be engineers but the black firemen, not being eligible, under the rules of the railroad, to such promotion, have gradually come, by the rule of seniority, into the best "runs" on the road, and there they stay, since they are not allowed to go any higher. The white firemen, consequently, have found it more and more difficult to reach the higher posts from which alone they could hope to be promoted to be engineers. The black firemen formed a block at the top of the ladder, over which the white firemen could not climb. Then, a few weeks ago, came the act that proved to be the spark in the powder magazine. Ten

white "assistant hostlers" (firemen employed about the terminal, in the round house, etc.) were displaced by ten black "assistant hostlers" who were willing to work for less than the union wages. The displaced "hostlers" took the matter before their union. The rest of the seventy or eighty white firemen, already restive, took up the case of the hostlers and a strike was declared by the Brotherhood.

The people along the line of the railroad looked upon the struggle as a race issue. When the railroad undertook to fill the places of the strikers or to run any of their trains with Negro firemen, crowds collected at the stations, stoned the cabs and cars, set the brakes, and assaulted the firemen. Governor Hoke Smith refused to supply protection, pleading excuse that he had not enough troops to protect 500 miles of track. For a week hardly a car wheel turned. Perishable freight perished. The mail was not carried. Supplies of food and fuel were exhausted in various towns, and, as one writer express it, ante bellum scenes began to reappear in some localities thus deprived of all intercourse with the rest of the world. Threats were made to extend the strike to other roads connecting with the Georgia and handling its freight. The unusual feature of the situation was that the railroad is owned and officered by Southern men, while the Brotherhood official, Vice-President Ball, who had charge of the strike, is a Northern man, hailing from Toronto, Canada. There was thus a labor controversy transformed into a race issue, in which Southern officials were fighting to retain Negroes in their jobs, while a Northern

man, assisted by the Southern rabble, were fighting to oust the Negroes. The general manager of the railroad, Thomas K. Scott, in an interview, thus construed the meaning of the contest: "This strike is the first step of a movement which is planned to eventuate in the abolition of the Negro as an industrial factor. It is the skirmish of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and the Enginemen in its plan to drive the Negro out of employment on railroads altogether. The plan has been smoldering for five years. This strike on the Georgia railroad is just the first step. I have reason to believe that the same demand will in time, be it soon or late, be made by officials of this firemen's union to every other railroad in the South."

The termination of the struggle was effected, temporarily at least, by the aid of federal officials. Charles P. Neill, U. S. labor commissioner, and Martin A. Knapp, chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, were sent from Washington to offer their services in effecting a settlement, Uncle Sam's special interest in the affair being to see that the mails were carried. They secured an "amicable settlement . . . on a basis entirely satisfactory to both sides." The strike was called off, the trains resumed their running, the populace along the line calmed down, and the usual course of existence was resumed. But the terms of the settlement, as unofficially reported, are interpreted to be a virtual victory of the white firemen, who are to displace the blacks, it is assumed, but to do so gradually, not all at once. The issue raised remains unsettled in the opinion of most

commentators. Says the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican*: "The settlement leaves the fate of the Negro firemen undetermined, with the chances decidedly against them. So the white strikers against Negro labor on the engines win out. Their success is not likely to stop here, but may extend over other Southern roads employing Negro firemen. It thus becomes a great victory for the industrial suppression of the Negro following his political suppression. Yet only a few days ago President Taft was congratulating the colored race on their rise or admission to greater opportunities for advancement than they ever knew before." The New York *Sun* censures the federal administration for its part in bringing about the settlement. "A state administration," it says, "sympathizing with mob rule and a national administration apparently more willing to accept humiliation than to uphold the law have won the Georgia strike for the union." The New York *Globe* thinks the settlement of the strike in no way disposes of the big question: "It remains, and will return in more and more vexing form. Intelligent Southern men realize that the problem raised is the most serious since emancipation, and there is a special call for wisdom."

Some particularly significant utterances on the contest have come from the Southern press. Reading them, the New York *Evening Post* is persuaded that the strike has been one of the best things that has happened in the South, inasmuch as "it has not only brought about a split among Southerners on a race issue, but it must be bringing home to many thousands of

intelligent men among them a clear understanding of how far unrestrained race prejudice may carry their section of the country." *The Chronicle*, of Augusta, for many a month engaged in blacking the course of Hoke Smith, the governor, for his "deliberate and wanton refusal to do his duty," and concerning the underlying issues it remarks: "Inasmuch as the Negro constitutes the bulk of the South's laboring population, to take away from him his right to labor—'side by side with white men,' when necessary—would place the heaviest possible handicap upon the South itself; for it would not only have a surplus of idle Negroes to contend with, but a scarcity of labor in all industrial pursuits. Any other policy . . . would be nothing short of suicidal."

The New Orleans *Times-Democrat* refuses to regard the contest as in any proper sense a race issue, for in that case it would not be confined to one road. It was simply, in this journal's opinion, a labor dispute—"the competition of laboring classes whose living standards are radically different and the desire of the employer to obtain its labor as cheaply as possible." The Richmond *Times* thinks that, while the contest was in its inception nothing but a labor dispute, the Georgia populace soon lost sight of the real grievances, and "the broad issue of race" resulted, in a form which it regards as of "large and critical moment." It goes on to say:

"In a broad sense, the issue here is simply the Negro's right to earn a living. If the Georgian Railway discharges its colored firemen, it can hardly be long before other Southern railways will be

asked to do the same thing. If stoking an engine is added to the list of things that a Negro may not aspire to do, any other form of occupation may be similarly closed to him at the discretion of his white co-laborers. We shall thus be in a fair way to establish the general principle that no Negro may hold any job which any white man wants or thinks that he wants.

"The South has repressed the Negro socially, and it was right to do so. It has repressed the Negro politically, and it was right to do so. But it has always declared that it gave the Negro a square deal and an even chance industrially, and this declaration has been the truth. To oust Negroes from positions which they are filling efficiently and without personal friction is to repudiate this wise policy and to start a program the logical result of which is the continuing multiplication of the idle Negro, the most dangerous element in the social body of the South."

"What has come to the South," asks the Florida *Times-Union*, "that there should be such intestine troubles in Kentucky, Tennessee and in Georgia; is there a common cause behind these outbreaks?" The question refers evidently not to the race issue in particular, but to the outbreaks of lawlessness that have recently swept over sections of these States. *The Times-Union* does not attempt to answer its own question; but an attempt to answer the question in part is made in a Northern paper—the New York *Sun*—in an editorial apparently written by a Southern man and professing to tell what is "perfectly well under-

stood" throughout the Southern States as to the relations now existing between blacks and whites. Says *The Sun*:

"The Negro stands to-day very much as he did in the days before the civil war. His friends and sympathizers then were of the class to which his owners belonged. His friends and sympathizers to-day are the descendants of those owners and their social congeners, whereby we mean the great mass of the cultivated, together with the land holders and the taxpayers. The Negro's enemies 'before the war' were the Crackers, the sand hillers and the wool hatters who were treated as less important than a well-fed slave Negro and resented it accordingly. His enemies to-day are the descendants of those ancient antagonists. In the emotions and proclivities of the South there has been no change of importance in three hundred years. . . . The 'Cracker' of the present times hates the progeny of the former slave with all the ancient passion.

"There is nothing else in it. Not more than one in ten of the mobs that have beset the Georgia railroad stations wants to work or would know how to do it if he had the chance. They want to banish the Negro from his occupation, and the railway companies may go hang for all they care. On the other side are the preferences and sympathies of the substantial and responsible elements of the population. They are restrained in the matter of their demonstrations by a sense of accountability to society, but their feeling is deep seated, earnest, traditional, and in emergency available. . . . The struggle is gathering. It will spread beyond

Georgia, and the end of it no man may prophesy."

Probably the foremost opponent, or, at least, critic, of the program advocated for the Negro race in America by Booker T. Washington is Professor Du Bois, of Atlanta, himself a Negro. He does not oppose industrial education, but he insists that Mr. Washington lays too much stress upon that and too little upon other matters.

The industrial schools, Professor Du Bois went on to say at the recent New York Race Conference, are the very ones that most increase competition, and this competition accentuates race prejudice. Other things being equal, the employer is forced to discharge the black man and hire the white man. The Negro is thereupon compelled to underbid the white man. He drags labor down in consequence, not because he wants to, but because he has no other choice. Professor Du Bois's supreme remedy is the ballot: "When the Negro casts a free and intelligent vote in the South, then and not till then, will the Negro problem be solved." He continues:

"The voteless Negro is a provocation, an invitation to oppression, a plaything for mobs, and a bonanza for demagogues. They serve always to distract attention from real issues and to ride fools and rascals into political power. The political campaign in Georgia before the last was avowedly and openly a campaign, not against Negro crime and ignorance, but against Negro intelligence and property owning and industrial competition, as shown by an 83 per cent. increase in

their property in ten years. It swept the State, and if it had not culminated in riot and bloodshed and thus scared capital, it would still be triumphant. As it is, the end is not yet."

In spite of the criticism made by Professor Du Bois, it grows more and more evident that Booker T. Washington's program of industrial efficiency is steadily growing in public favor as the most hopeful way out of the race situation. Three years ago he suggested the organization of the Negro Business Men's League. It has become a national organization, and is said to be growing rapidly. A few days after the adjournment of the conference spoken of above, the New York branch of the league held a meeting at which Mr. Washington spoke. He reminded his audience that there are forty-six Negro banks in the South, forty-six Negro bank presidents and forty-six boards of Negro directors; and "the men who make this possible are those who are not afraid to work with their hands and who are not ashamed to wear patches." Business, he declared, draws no color line. "The man who can produce what the other man wants gets the trade. If a Negro poultry dealer serves fresh eggs in the city of New York the dealer will buy them, and he won't ask whether they were laid by black hens

or white hens." The Negroes, he went on to say, must get a footing in the business world, and they must get it in the next generation if they are ever going to get it. Just a year ago another eminent Negro educator, Professor Blackshear, gave encouraging figures to show the extent to which Negroes have already acquired a footing in business. He said:

"In 1900 the Negroes as tenants or as landowners cultivated 746,717 farms, comprising 38,233,933 acres, embracing 59,741 square miles, or just the area of England and Wales, or double that of Scotland, and larger than the kingdoms of Belgium and Holland combined; that where he stood when a slave before the 2,101,947 were engaged in farming; that the race has amassed property values to the extent of over \$300,000,000, with zero as their starting point in 1865; these facts indicate that in the conditions and influences at the South, where the bulk of our race reside, there must be friendly factors whose extent and value have been underestimated."

President Taft has thrown the weight of his personal influence in favor of the Hampton-Tuskegee program. A few days ago he accepted election as a member of the board of trustees of Hampton Institute.



Woman

By MRS. B. E. BRADFORD



WHEN the word woman is mentioned what picture does it bring to your mind?

Does it mean to you the gaudily dressed human being, with form artificial, her face expressing the pride, arrogance and discontent—with not a trace of love or pity to be found there, to say the least of that gentle mother expression that brings light to tired eyes, quickens the step of weary feet, and lifts one's thoughts from the lowly ground of sorrow and suffering to a plane of purity and sublimity? These creatures are not women, but counterfeit, imitation beings whose lives are given to pleasure seeking, who find the first duties of home, husband and children too burdensome—except perhaps when they desire to make a big display by giving a midnight supper or a card party; this is not the exercising of hospitality, but simply the artificial and endangering desire to surpass in extravagance.

Here the hard-worked husband suffers, trying to meet the demands of an unfeeling wife, who is trying to live an automobile life, while her husband holds a wheelbarrow job. She assumes the role of a wealthy hostess, wilfully closing her ears to the whispered reproaches of her conscience. She does not see that tired look in her husband's eyes, the worn expression on his face, plainly telling that life is

weighing heavily upon him; the drooping lines seen about his mouth indicate a fierce battle between the great injustice being done him and his infinite love for this idle, selfish woman. He struggles and suffers in silence trying to keep back words that if rationally spoken would bring her to a realization of the crimes she is committing—that of living beyond his income. Yet he refuses to utter one word that would cause a barrier to arise between them, however inconsiderate she may be.

Ah! that we could fathom his thoughts as he sighs, when creditor after creditor pushes him for the payment of bills long since due. We see, but know little or nothing of what is going on around us.

These women may have the face of Venus or the form of a Parisian model, yet they are far from being beautiful in the way that God intended them to be. We do not envy them their fair faces and perfect forms, or their fine feathers, except in proportion as they create envy and extravagance in good women, who would otherwise make good wives and useful women in the community in which they live.

Or does the word woman bring this picture to your mind? The woman who is said to occupy the middle class, garbed in quiet apparel, plain and simple in dress, gracious in manners, courteous to strangers, kind and self-sacrificing to those

whose lot is more trying, thereby showing her sweet and wholesome nature by outward expression? She may not be handsome, yet she is a woman that every one is pleased to meet. Her expression is one of contentment, love and pity; people confide and trust in her, secure in the knowledge that their confidence will not be betrayed. When bowed with sorrow and on the verge of despair, life seeming intolerable, people seek comfort in her. The tired husband finds a ready sympathizer in her, a bright and cheerful home, filled with love and sunshine, the doors thrown hospitably open. Here he finds comparative rest, enthusiasm rising above fatigue.

The children in this matron's home are well reared, care being exercised that their tender hearts and mellow dispositions are not hardened. They are taught by example as well as by precept to be considerate, simple, loving, trusting, to settle their differences with common sense and justice, without malice and rancor. When we are invited by this plain little woman to a luncheon at her

home one is content in the assurance that hospitality characterizes the act. The fare may not consist of the delicacies of land and sea. Her home may not be situated on the main boulevard, the furnishings may be inexpensive, but the very atmosphere is laden with the fragrance of love and cheerfulness. The food partaken here is digestible. This is the really fine type of womanhood.

Don't get the idea now that you must wear the smile that won't come off or be old-fashioned! But you can cultivate these simple, natural qualities that last forever in the lustre of finest gold. Which of these two contrasting figures do you think more beautiful? One in gaudily decorated silks, adorned in coarse, vulgar ornaments, living futile lives, seeking pleasure rather than happiness; or the plain woman dressed in simple, becoming gowns, her eyes beaming with love and tenderness, her thoughts pure and noble, her heart full of pity for those in distress. What is uglier than the one? What is more beautiful than the other?

THE DIAMOND IN THE CLAY

THE man who finds a diamond in the clay
and knows its worth from common glass
That others trod upon or blindly pass —
Their dreamful eyes uplifted from the way,
The people of that all too common class
Diogenes rebuked, as we may still, alas!
For wisdom's children yet are prone to stray
In Nature's sunlight groping through life's day.
And holds it at its value true, how'er
The common sort may taunt him for his faith,
Until it nestles in Fame's fickle ear,
Brilliant compelling Admiration's breath,
Is more to be esteemed of men by far
Than they who praise the stone become a star.

AFFAIRS AT WASHINGTON

By EDWARD H. LAWSON

THE recollection of various older Washingtonians can find nothing to parallel the undercurrent of sinister political and educational mutterings that have filled the air of the national capital during the last several weeks. The light of the olden days that have been contrasts strangely with the unknown dark of the days which are.

First, there arose discussion as to the awarding of the commission of recorder of deeds to some one other than Hon. John C. Dancy, about which a deal of skimble-skamble stuff was prophesied. The recorder only spoke beneath his bated breath—mayhap to good purpose, for certainly the tumult and the shouting died. The dark clouds loomed for a scarce second over the office of Auditor Ralph W. Tyler. The register of the treasury, Hon. W. T. Vernon, advisedly marked ill-omen in a series of storms of comment found in all of the papers of the country regarding actions of his own which he then felt quite proper, and which he probably still considers entirely warranted. Concerning the Haitian ministership, gossip only has been afforded, but they are pecked on the ear and nose who cannot divine the outcome.

What are the bugles blowing for? Why are the eagles screaming among the

aeries of the Potomac? Is there yet another to prove his calibre? Listen.

Mr. Roscoe Conkling Bruce, assistant superintendent of public schools for the District of Columbia and son of former Senator B. K. Bruce, in his July 1 recommendations to the Board of Education concerning the organization of schools for the year to follow, advised anatomizing among the vital portions of his household, to wit: That Mr. W. T. S. Jackson, principal of M Street High School, be demoted to become a teacher in Armstrong Manual Training School, and that he be succeeded by Mr. Garnet C. Wilkinson; that Dr. Henry L. Bailey be demoted from supervisorship to become a teacher in M Street High School; that Mr. John C. Nalle be demoted from supervisorship to become principal of Lincoln Building; that Mr. Alonzo O. Stafford, principal of Lincoln Building, be promoted to supervisorship in place of Mr. Nalle; that Mr. James Walker, principal of Banneker Building, be promoted to supervisorship in place of Dr. Bailey.

The friends of those demoted tread new and divers paths in their eagerness to help the falling and the fallen—and untread them as oft again. A thousand spleens direct them in devious ways. They plan coups d'etat until it seems the air is full of calumny flying back and forth, for when Mr. Bruce said: "Let us



HON. HENRY W. FURNISS, U. S. MINISTER TO HAITI

demote!" amen stuck in the throat of various partisans.

Mr. Napoleon B. Marshall, son-in-law of Hon. Mifflin W. Gibbs, succeeded in forming a Citizens' Committee at the capital, of which committee the names of Mr. Marshall and Mr. James L. Niell are most frequently mentioned. This committee drew up twenty-three charges and specifications against Mr. Bruce and laid them before the Board of Education. The matter of demotions, happily for the assistant superintendent, became of secondary importance in the gossip of social circles beside these charges, which apparently are not over-virile. However, they are considered to have some illuminating proof requiring masterful rebuke, if such be possible.

Captain James F. Oyster, president of the Board of Education, when informed of the charges against Mr. Bruce, expressed his utmost confidence in the latter, and declared his intention to support him in all of his recommendations. This expression of Captain Oyster has been regarded as the epitaph of the demoted, leaving the assistant superintendent unmoved and abiding in conscious power. Mayhap he is guiding the colored populace of Washington toward an unknown land of actual professional practice in education, and will not let up until the school system stands within the very flux of excellence. The way is strange and unfamiliar to the unsophisticated—and only one or two of those who compose Citizens' Committees are apt to be educational experts in administration. Deep with the deep confer, with thoughts, like ships that find no port, conveying

cargoes of that small talk which cuts like the powdered glass ground in Tophana. No longer does each male school official deem his own sandhouse secure. Pained aspiration seeks consolation in the music and story of other days, which tends to hush the hungering mystery as to what means this latter energetic move of Mr. Bruce

Mr. H. T. Furniss, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the republic of Haiti, not long ago passed through Washington en tour of the Eastern States and Canada. He heard much talk and read much tush which had been written concerning the appointment of some new official to this important ministership, but presented a front of callous indifference to the rumors of the day. Men of prominence throughout America have appeared as candidates for the position in question. They come from the various points of the compass, and, like varying winds, stir up a whirl of gossip and speculation in the national capital. Four prominent school officials and ex-school officials are active candidates for the post. Certain requisites with regard to endorsement and clientele are supposedly necessary. It seems that all of the candidates have the necessary senatorial backing as far as their own State is concerned. Some have in addition the backing of the few remaining referees for Mr. Taft. It is said upon good authority that Mr. Furniss, the present minister, has the support of the State Department for his continuance in office. Here is a pretty state of affairs, and such a one in which a dark horse usually wins. The patronage pertaining to Haiti, it is

alleged, belongs to a senator from one of the Middle States. This senator has not been outspoken with regard to the matter—he is busily engaged with the tariff. His friends, however, are keeping their eyes on the \$10,000 Haitian position, and are ready to furnish him with a jet-black steed upon his slightest suggestion. It seems that social conditions in Haiti are somewhat altered during the administration of President Simon, who is a pure-blooded Negro. It is likely that Mr. Taft has been advised of the change in such conditions, and will make such a selection for the ministership, should he find it expedient to remove Mr. Furniss, as will adjust most readily to the present social status of the class which rules on the island.

Washington will shortly be able to give forth more interesting news concerning the colored citizens of the world than has been written in a score of moons. The Brownsville Board and the Liberian Commission both meet in the capital city shortly, and are calculated to furnish some rich and illuminating data to the public. It would not surprise the citizens of the capital at all if Mr. Emmet J. Scott, of Tuskegee, colored member of the Liberian Commission, was designated to some other position of responsibility and trust at the hands of President Taft in the near future.

Mr. L. Melendez King, one of the most successful colored lawyers of Washington, was born in Amherst County, of the Old Dominion State. He remained within his State's borders until about the age of twenty-four or twenty-five, being educated at the Petersburg N. and I. In-



LAWYER L. MELENDEZ KING

stitute and at the Virginia Seminary, in Lynchburg. He also attended the Law School of the University of Michigan, following this course up with a post course at Howard University, from which the degree of LL.M. was received in 1899. Since that time Mr. King has been practicing law in the District of Columbia. He has made a specialty of civil practice, although he has conducted a number of celebrated criminal cases. Among the latter might be mentioned such cases as United States vs. James Powell, United States vs. William Jackson, United States vs. Gertrude Jackson, United States vs. Lettie Oliver. In the cases Mr. King distinguished himself early in his practice. The latter case, as well as that of United States vs. Eva De Veal, has to do with infanticide, the law-

yer bringing his client off with a small penalty. With regard to civil practice, Mr. King is noted for the suit of Sophia D. Marshall vs. P. B. Brooks, and Administrators vs. United States Electric Light Company, in which an award of \$10,000 for the death of Thomas H. Hall was granted. He was retained as counsel in the case of Lundy and Congressman Heflin, but withdrew from this case by reason of a disagreement with his

client. Mr. King is special grand attorney for the I. B. P. O. E. of the World, having incorporated the grand lodge in the District of Columbia recently, and being grand trustee for the same. He recently married Miss Anna E. Johnson, the two living at present in a \$6,000 residence on Thirteenth Street, purchased since Mr. King began the practice of law. His practice is now worth about \$3,500 a year.

A FOREST HYMN

R. L. SIMPSON.

What means that cadence, soft and low,
That rises, falls, in rhythmic flow?

Hark!

From the distant plain
It sounds again.

Hark!

From yonder mountain peak
Sweet voices seem to speak,
As tho' descending, chamois-like,
From rock to rock. What awe they
strike!

Hark!

From hill and vale toward yonder wood,
Where oak and ash and all have stood
For years and years, defying time,
They all converging seem to chime.

Hark!

Those voices, dying ne'er,
Sounding on the morning air,
Seem greater life and strength to gain
With every beat and measure of refrain.

Hark!

Blending, chiming, with sweetest harmony,
That sounds like to angelic minstrelsy.

They slowly near.

From forest and valley that strange chorus
sounds

Like the sweet, fettered voices of angels un-
bound,

Till at last it is here.

List!

Bird and beast and all are still;
Winding there about the hill,
E'en the stream that flows along
Stops to listen to the song.

Still!

How those voices blend and chime!
(Sweeter far than yours and mine.)
Now 'tis slow, now 'tis fast;
Now 'tis here; now 'tis past;
Then back again, and soft recede,
And almost in the distance dies away;
Then, loud and louder, as tho' freed
From all restraints; but ever, ever gay.

Hark!!!

No poet's pen, no genius' ready tongue
Can ever limn

The beauty, grandeur, splendid glory
Of that simple forest hymn.

Her Heritage

THE graduating class of East Glendale, 1901, was not a large one — eight girls and three boys. They were bright-looking pupils, all of them. The validictorian was a tall, plain girl, less handsomely dressed than the rest, and they called her Margaret. Her dress was very plain, though neat; she easily had the intelligence of her fellow students, though her complexion bespoke her African origin. Her bright, genial nature also bespoke that humble, suffering people, so easy to adapt itself to the most trying conditions.

She was easily the least attractive of her class in both appearance and dress, but the thing that marked her most was her pleasant countenance. It was at once plain that her genial nature had made her a favorite in her class.

Margaret's flowers were less handsome and less plentiful than the others, her presents were less costly, her clothes the plainest, and her appearance the least pleasing, and, in spite of all this, she was the most jovial and cheerful, the unfailing source of continuous merriment to her schoolmates.

Her essay was, as one might expect, full of the same bright spirit and of rugged, quiet thought.

The hall was filled with the wise, the learned and the moneyed of the city. It was received with great applause, even the most cantankerous colorphobist or amalgamation crank applauded with the rest—forced to admit that it couldn't have been better done.

After the exercises were over each girl left the hall for home. After the last carriage door was closed and all had gone, she, the odd one of the number, went laughing to her friends, and they, too, left for home, but not in carriages or even street cars, but on foot.

The cottage was low and humble to which they went, and the mother, the only parent of Margaret, after emptying a tub where she had finished washing, stood waiting in the door to greet her greatly learned child. She would have loved to see her daughter's triumph, but she was ill much of the time, and what few pennies could be spared from their small funds were spent for medicine, and the poor woman, much as her heart yearned to be there, had nothing really fit to wear. For, as she said to herself, on so grand an occasion she would certainly not appear there improperly clad. So she remained at home and washed.

At last the one ray of light in her dark, dreary life came running to greet her. The joyful girl lifted her off her

feet, being taller by several inches than her mother, and carried her into the kitchen and sat her flat on the floor, kissing her again and again.

"Oh, mother, your washing days will soon be over now," she cried; "you have worked for me, now I shall work for you," and then she ran on, telling her what she was going to do, how the learning she had acquired through her unceasing efforts should furnish a living for them both.

The bright child's mind, unsoiled by contact with the uncaring world, confident with the confidence of one who knows he possesses ability to do and the courage to dare, she had yet to learn that courage and ability when placed in the balance with a dusky face are small factors in this part of the world.

Her plan was to work during vacation and earn money enough to attend the next term in the normal school. In order to lose no more time than necessary, she found a newspaper and looked over the "adds"—a very speedy way for some people—taking down on a tablet the places that suited her most, rattling on, as she did so, of the future and its bright hopes. Youth is always so buoyant and hopeful—I wonder would our lives be happier if all the bright dreams of our youth could be realized.

Margaret was quite young; all she knew of the world was what she had found in her home and her school room. Poor and humble as she was, she was yet to meet with unkindness, yet to learn that in the great, free America it were almost as well to be a leper as to be a Negro. So when Margaret started out

early next morning full of joy and hope the realization was a hard one; she was doomed to early disillusion.

Place after place she went to, and most of them spoke to her not unkindly; in fact, but with absolute discouragement. She really did not know just why until one less kind than the rest looked at her disgustedly, and wanted to know if the "ad." called for a colored girl. On her replying in the negative, he wanted to know if she hadn't "sense enough to know" that if he had wanted colored he would have said so. That was her first blow. Then she knew why she had been turned away by the rest. She hadn't the heart to go further; she went home to the mother, weary and disappointed. She had been so sure of herself. Her step now was not light and joyous on her return, and she sat down on the doorstep and, with her head buried in her mother's lap, she wept—wept long and bitterly—not the tears of an angry, spoiled child, but the tears of a weary heart that has known its first trouble. "Oh, mother," she sobbed, "just to think that they all of them turned me away just for that!"

But the mother was not surprised; indeed, she would have been surprised had it been otherwise. She knew these sad truths too well, but she did not dissuade Margaret from her purpose, as she knew there was but one time and one way for her to learn that which she knew must come to her knowledge sooner or later. She quietly and sadly made a fresh cup of tea, and, after drinking it and taking some lunch, her spirits rose again. She determined to try once more, but the second day was no better than the first—

the same old thing from door to door, from place to place. "Oh," she sighed, "if I only could divest myself of this only drawback, my color—what a pity!"

Here was no weakling, however; life was not to be all disappointment because one project had proved a failure. Work there was, and plenty; that Margaret knew well she could get, and do well. The returns were very small however, and it would take a much longer time to accomplish her aim than she had calculated.

There was one ray of hope left to her, however—one place she felt a little hopeful of; it was a position in a minister's family as nursery governess. It may be, she said to herself, that these God-fearing Christians may not be sufferers from Negrophobia. And so she went; her hand trembled and she felt doubtful as she rang the bell; her past experience had made her quite timid.

The maid who answered to her ring glared insolently at her, and left her standing in the vestibule. The mistress came to her immediately, but on learning her errand turned her kindly but firmly away. Of course, she knew why.

On her return home she had another good cry. It seemed so hard, so unjust, so unreasonable, so unkind; she was forced, she saw, to resort to the one thing in the world she despised, the endless, monotonous druggery of housework at the pitiful sums they paid. She had done it in vacation, but she had always disliked it, and now she must, she saw, resort to it, if she would work at all.

Looking over her paper for places for housework, she saw where an ironer in

a laundry was needed. She knew she could iron well; even that would be preferable to the other, so to the laundry she went; after much parley and debate she was finally given a station to see what she could do; the mistress watched all she did, and seemed very much pleased with her work, and spoke approvingly to her at different times during the day.

The heart of Margaret began to beat a little easier. At last, here was something—hard it was true, but the pay was fair, and, then, too, one had her evenings which was something. While she was pleased however, there were those who were displeased. When it came time to leave for home she found all the ironers save herself lined up at the office for their pay. They couldn't possibly, they explained, think of working with a "nigger." The outcome of this was, of course, that Margaret got her day's pay.

The first introduction to this sort of thing Margaret took like a baby and cried until her head ached, but her heart was getting hardened; though she felt very angry, she didn't weep.

"Pooh!" she thought, "truth, honor, ability, what do they mean to me or to such as I? God in His throne on high and yet permit these things? And then the hard heart again softened, and again she wept. Oh, the blessing of tears! As rain is God's blessing to the earth, tears are His blessing to humanity.

And so she wept; yes, she sighed, "the heritage is a sad one, but God will right the wrong in His own good time as He has ever done. The strong, as ever, oppress the weak, until the Omnipotent

Judge of all plants His mighty hand upon the oppressor.

"In spite of all, I will go on to the end; I will laugh and work and win though every man's hand be against me, yet with God's help I will win. The white man is in the ascendancy to-day, but what changes can take place in a day! Surely never man had a more sad heritage, but surely never a heritage so called for brave and patient men.

"God is God of the night as well as the day, and some day not so far distant, perhaps, my merit will win." The bright smile returned, the tears were dried, the joyous spirit beat down despair, the step as she went forth to seek employment

where she knew well she could get it was light and firm. When she returned she kissed the mother and told her of her success, and prepared to take her leave for her place of employment. It took a long time to earn the money she needed. But when by close economy she felt she could go, the woman was loathe to lose her and the children cried because she would go.

She spent her term at the normal school as she wished. Margaret is now a teacher in the Southland. Love and joy have followed her there. The lesson she loves most to instill in her pupils is that "for the brave heart there is no despair. Merit will win."

THE COLORED SOLDIERS.

If the muse were mine to tempt it
And my feeble voice were strong,
If my tongue were trained to measures,
I would sing a stirring song.
I would sing a song heroic
Of those noble sons of Ham,
Of the gallant colored soldiers
Who fought for Uncle Sam!

Yes, the Blacks enjoy their freedom,
And they won it dearly, too;
For the life blood of their thousands
Did the southern fields bedew.
In the darkness of their bondage,
In the depths of slavery's night,
Their muskets flashed the dawning
And they fought their way to light.

They were comrades then and brothers,
Are they more or less to-day?
They were good to stop a bullet
And to front the fearful fray.
They were citizens and soldiers,
When rebellion raised its head;
And the traits that made them worthy,
Ah! Those virtues are not dead.

And their deeds shall find a record
In the registry of fame;
For their blood has cleansed completely
Every blot of Slavery's shame,
So all honor and all glory
To those noble sons of Ham,
The gallant colored soldiers
Who fought for Uncle Sam!

PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR.

Slavery In Massachusetts

By CLEMENT RICHARDSON

In this, "The Heart of the Puritan," Mr. Richardson concludes his series of articles beginning in the May number of THE COLORED AMERICAN MAGAZINE on "Slavery in Massachusetts. For all students of African slavery in America his contributions will have an authoritative value. Mr. Richardson bravely asserts that slavery was not abandoned in Massachusetts so much for "economic reasons" as because of the "religious and humanitarian ideas of the people." With many facts and figures and with faultless, though we believe partial reasoning, the Harvard Negro graduate essays to support his assertion. Written in easy and excellent English, these articles should be preserved, not only for the historical facts contained, but as well for the implied tribute to the high character of the former citizens of the old Bay State. The articles have appeared in the following order: "Slavery in Vogue," "Process of Abolition" and "The Heart of the Puritan."—EDITOR.

THE HEART OF THE PURITAN

IN ALL of this turmoil of agitation where was the Negro himself? Was he idle? We shall see that he was not. We start once more with a few individual examples. To introduce an almost romantic example: Up at Northfield there was a Negro named Abijah, who in some way had bought his freedom. He married a Negro woman, and bought her freedom also. This woman, whom they called Bijah, was something of a poetess and literateur. In 1764 her husband came into possession of some land in Vermont, and the family went to live upon this land. About ten years later Colonel Eli Bronson sought to get a part of this land. Bijah went before the Supreme Court, then presided over by Justice Chase, and, having a brief drawn by Isaac Tickner, pleaded her own case. She was opposed by Stephen A. Bradley and Royal Tyler, but the woman won back her land. From here she later

went to Williams College, and there argued for three hours, citing law and Scriptures as to why the authorities should allow Negroes to matriculate. In the latter case she was vanquished. There was a Negro slave in Lynn by the name of Hannibal, slave of John Lewis. He married a Negro slave of Ebenezer Hawkes, named Phoebe. As was customary, the children from such an issue belonged to the master of the woman. Three children were born. By working hard evenings and early mornings Hannibal bought these three children's freedom at 40 pounds per child. His wife being a good cook, the master charged for her 60 pounds. Hannibal's heart nearly failed him, but, encouraged by his master, he once more set to work, and in a few years had his wife with him. His own freedom was then given him. Cæsar Hunt, alias Peter Warren, paid to Joseph Lowell the sum of 13 pounds 6 shillings for his freedom. There are numerous instances of people like Mum Bett, of Stockbridge, who, resenting her

mistress's cruelty, walked away, and of the Negro men like Peter Salem, who fought on Bunker Hill; of other Negroes who enlisted and returned with the money earned in three years of service to pay for their freedom. But we must give some attention to the collection of Negroes.

When in January, 1773, a movement was in the House to free the slaves "the humble petition of many of the slaves living in the town of Boston" found its way to Governor Hutchinson and the Houses to consider their "unhappy condition." The petitioners exclaimed, "We have no property! We have no wives! We have no children! No city, no country!" In 1777 another petition went to the Governor, but neither of these petitions could be signed, the Governor having no authority from the Crown. In 1775 the Negroes from Bristol and Worcester petitioned the Committee of Correspondence to aid them in "obtaining their freedom." And finally the Negroes in the little town of Dartmouth, being unjustly taxed, sent in a plea so able and so eloquent that I quote it entirely. The petition is dated February 10, 1778; it reads as follows: "Being chiefly of African extract, and by reason of long bondage and hard slavery we have been deprived of enjoying the profits of our labor, the advantage of inheriting estates from our parents as our neighbors, the white people do, having some of us not long enjoyed our freedom; yet of late contrary to the invariable custom and practice of the country, we have been and now are taxed both in our polls and that small pittance of estate which

through much hard labor and industry we have got together to sustain ourselves and families withal. We apprehend it, therefore, to be hard usage, and will doubtless (if continued) reduce us to a state of beggary—your petitioners further show that while we are not allowed the privilege of freemen of the State, having no vote or influence in the election of those who tax us, yet men of our color (as is well known) have cheerfully enlisted in the field of battle in defense of the common cause; and that (as we conceive) against a similar exertion of power in regard to taxation too well known to need a recital in this place." And so by individual purchase, by enlisting and by petition the Negro had also contributed in no small degree to his own emancipation.

A few words about the law courts and I shall close this paper. The law courts generally voice public sentiment on great questions. With the public frowning on slavery it was impossible for the master to gain a verdict against his slave. In 1770 one Stockbridge of Plymouth requested his freedom of his master. Refused, he took his case to the courts and was set free. "As early as 1773," says Nathan Dane, "the Negroes claimed their freedom and brought action against masters and got it." Further, says Dane, "in these cases there seems to have been doubts of slavery existing in Massachusetts." In 1780 Joseph Prouts' slave of Scarborough walked away and hired himself to William Vaughn of the same town. Prout could do nothing but pray the court to be set free from any obligation he might

be under for the slave's welfare. Finally if there was any doubt upon the question it was put to rest in 1783. In the famous case of Quork Walker, Negro, vs. Jane-son, Walker sued for freedom and got it, the court declaring that the preamble of the Constitution of the State plainly prohibited slavery.

And so with the decision of the Worcester courts slavery perished in Massachusetts forever. And it perished because the soil here was not rich enough to nourish it—not the soil of the earth, but the soil of the human heart. If we look back over the facts submitted in this paper we shall see how impossible it was for slavery, though the number multiplied to many times 4,000, to be ever actually established. The slave could go into court and testify against his master



CLEMENT RICHARDSON

even in capital cases; nay, as we saw in the instance of Bijah, the slave could plead his own cause in court. He had the right of petition, as we have seen in several cases—in Worcester, in Boston, and the town of Dartmouth. These facts in themselves, were there no other, would be sufficient warrant that slavery never could be established in this State. But there are still stronger expressions of the Puritans' love of fair play. He saw to it that the slave's family was not separated. He protected the slaves in their married life, duly solemnizing and recording their weddings in the churches. He protected the slave from the master by passing a law that if a slave was beaten severely, had a tooth knocked out, or an eye put out by the master he received his freedom for such treatment. If you compare such practices with those in States where slavery can be truthfully said to have been established you shall see how far it was from the Puritans ever to keep a human being in permanent bondage. In the South father, mother, and child were torn apart to be sold in various sections of the land. A slave was not allowed to petition or to testify. He knew not in any sense the right of marriage, as a planter of the South sought to treat slaves as he would cattle. And finally a Negro slave could be shot down by any white man without even a voice of protest. This is slavery established.

Interesting as the legal protection of the slave was, still more interesting and to my purpose was the protection of the unwritten law—the law of conscience. The slave was permitted to eat at the master's table, he had his pew in the

church, his baptism and his membership. He heard other sermons than "servants obey your masters," and finally he was taught to read and to know the Bible. Can the institution be established under such conditions?

Finally, how delicate, how sensitive the conscience in this State became on the subject. We have seen how individuals, feeling the injustice of holding fellow mortals in bondage, set free the slave; how towns, as a whole, agreed to remunerate the master for the loss of slaves. Again, we noticed that when Samuel Sewall wrote his paper on the "Selling of Joseph" in 1700 he was immediately answered by Mr. Ashton. Seventy years later Mr. Ashton might have answered the paper, but under no pressure would he have subscribed his name to the reply. In one of the advertisements in the paper for "Negroes For

Sale" we found the name of Mr. Gillespie with address duly registered below. In the other, five years later, there is neither name nor address. The many satirists who replied to Dr. Gordon from 1773 to 1777 very carefully sailed under the colors of incognito. Public conscience was alive in every wire, in the courts, in the small towns, in assemblies, in the churches, and in the households. Very clearly, then, it seems to me, the Puritan, with laws whose very tenor defied slavery as any sort of permanent institution, and with their conscience ever quickened by ideas of religion and the rights of man, could never have tolerated slavery among them as an established system. The facts from Roger Williams down seem to be that the interest of the Puritan dictated the holding or bringing up of slaves, while conscience in the light of religious and humanitarian ideas constantly protested.



The Grab for Liberia and Her Needs



ENGLAND and France have long looked with lustful eyes upon the great garden spot of West Africa—Liberia. These two European nations have long made covert attempts to grab and overthrow the Americo-African Republic. They have actually taken through cajolery and intimidation large slices of her territory. They have long kept her intimidated in a state of nervous apprehension as to what would happen next and when it would happen. In this state of mind, Liberia appealed to America; America sent her commission, and now it is for America to determine the future status of Liberia.

This is the information with which America has been supplied upon the return home of the commission.

Will America now seize her opportunity and prove by putting Liberia on its feet that her services were offered in good faith? Or will America grasp her opportunity and use a tropical dependency of American descendants as a commercial and political entering wedge into the rich and limitless domains of Africa? This is the alternative put up to America by her diplomatic descent into the tropics. We have recently received more first hand authoritative information concerning this grab for Liberia and her needs than ever before. In the *Independent* of July 8 we get from a recent

Negro emigrant to Liberia, Mr. Walter Walker, a teacher of mathematics in the College of West Africa, a concise statement of the imposition of Europe:

From the time Liberia was founded in 1822 by the American Colonization Society, up to the outbreak of the civil war, she had a prominent place in the mind of the American public. Since this war healed the breach which threatened to sever the United States asunder, there has been a most wonderful and rapid jump in material prosperity. During this unparalleled period of national evolution Liberia was almost forgotten; at least, she dropped out of sight as far as the average individual is concerned.

In the meantime the colonial possessions of France and England in West Africa began to assume a more significant place in the national life of these countries, as markets had to be secured for their surplus products. Both of these nations have territory contiguous to Liberia, and consequently they became directly concerned in the affairs of this little republic. France has been secondary, while England has played a most important part either directly or indirectly in the activity and destiny of Liberia since 1871, when the ill-fated loan of that year was floated in London. The hardly less indiscreet loan of 1906 so involved England and Liberia that the former has arrogated to itself almost the power and right of a suzerain. The Liberians are

intensely patriotic and will loudly, if not effectively, resent any attempt at encroachment upon their autonomy. If the Liberians are supersensitive as regards the action of Great Britain; if they are suspicious of her when she virtually begs this republic to permit her subjects to help put her house in order; if they fear the English after they are once in Liberia; the facts may justify their apprehension and dread, especially when the recent actions of the representatives and subjects of England are considered. England, as well as every one of her subjects in the employ of the Liberian Government or who is doing business in Liberia, protests that she has no ulterior motive in her relations with Liberia; that her desire is simply to assist the republic in organizing and maintaining an orderly and stable government; that she already has enough territory to control. The English press echoes the same sentiment. Major Cadell, commandant of the Liberian Frontier Force, offered to organize a well-disciplined police force for Monrovia, to fix and clean up the streets of the city, all for nothing. He had actually been appointed police inspector, street commissioner and tax collector by the Mayor and Common Council of Monrovia. This was a little too loving on the part of the major. The people protested—and loudly, too—so the Mayor and his advisors thought it safe to revoke the commission of Cadell.

All the while protesting no designs upon Liberia's standing as an independent state, England has been gradually absorbing her territory on the northwest. In the last boundary treaty, when

the Mano River was made the dividing line between Liberia and the British colony of Sierra-Leone, England claimed the right of possession of the whole of this river, notwithstanding Liberia's protests and the precedents established by international law that when a river forms the boundary between two countries the right to the use of the stream belongs alike to each country. Contrary to treaty stipulations England has seized the Kanre Lahun district on the ground that Liberia is unable to control the natives of that section. These natives claim allegiance to Liberia and have been peaceful and law abiding. Kanre Lahun is an important gateway to the trade of that part of the interior, and for this reason England is anxious to have this section annexed to Sierra-Leone. England knows she has no right to this territory, and has offered to give to Liberia in exchange for it a large, barren and less thickly populated section southeast of Kanre Lahun.

France has usurped Liberia's territory as well as England. She forced Liberia to give up the San Pedro country on the southeast, has taken some in the north, and in the last delimitation, which has just been completed but not ratified, has appropriated about one-third of Liberia's total area on the north and southeast. In all these cases Liberia has given up her rightful territory under duress. The Liberians are placated; they are deluged with courtesy and honeyed words; their commissioners and delegations are kindly treated by these nations; the executive government is flattered; and all the while Liberia is being cupped and



LIBERIAN COMMISSIONERS.

Reading from left to right: Emmett J. Scott, Roland P. Falkner, Dr. George Sale,

bled and told that it is only for her good. If France is allowed to take Liberia's territory, England is determined to get her part. In view of these facts the Liberians are justified in being apprehensive about their independence.

When Liberia contracted the loan of 1906 England tightened her grip on this country. She then assumed the role of a suzerain and began to make demands for certain reforms. France in a sort of indefinite way seconded these reforms. The British consul-general at Monrovia,

Braithwait Wallis, reminded the executive government of those reforms in an open letter in January, 1908, recapitulated by him as follows:

(a) The appointment of a financial expert who will place the finances of the country on a sound footing and will advise the Secretary of the Treasury on financial matters.

(b) The establishment of an efficient, well-armed and well-disciplined police force under competent European offi-

cers; and one that will command the respect of the Powers.

(c) The appointment of at least three more European customs experts.

(d) The reform of the judiciary.

"European" in the above must be interpreted as meaning "English," as only Englishmen have been employed in the service of the Liberian Government under the acts creating the reform organization. His Majesty's consul-general demanded that these reforms be carried out within six months after date of the letter. If they were instituted His Majesty's Government would be glad to suspend the pressing of its monetary claims against Liberia and to settle also the long disputed question of the navigation of the Mano River. Moreover, His Majesty's Government would be pleased to lend Liberia the necessary officers to successfully execute the reforms. If they were not instituted, however, within the time set, England would not think of further guaranteeing Liberia's independence.

The financial adviser was appointed in conformity with the demand. The organization of a police force for the frontier was undertaken and three British officers employed to drill the soldiers and construct barracks. The three new customs officers were also secured. In all there were seven British subjects in the employ of Liberia, two of whom were drawing a larger salary than the President of the Republic.

It was in the execution of the duties of these men that trouble arose which culminated in the dismissal of two of the

British officers in the frontier and the falsely circulated rumor of a revolution. When the barracks had been nearly completed Major Cadell, who was in charge of the barracks, began to act as though he were in the service of the British Government, instead of Liberia, and obeyed orders from the British consul-general rather than from the proper officials of the Liberian Government. He disobeyed orders of the President of the Republic in that he enlisted, contrary to instructions, a large number of British soldiers other than the few drill sergeants from Sierra-Leone which were allowed him as help. Major Cadell had a free hand in the organization and management of the barracks, and spent nearly \$75,000, much of which is unaccounted for.

The customs department has had a more placid career under the supervision of W. J. Lamont. There was much dissatisfaction, however, among the people when Mr. Lamont, as financial adviser, attempted to assume his duties. This resulted in the resignation of the Secretary of the Treasury, which was subsequently withdrawn. The duties of the financial adviser appeared too comprehensive and were interpreted as virtually absorbing all the functions of the Secretary of the Treasury. Customs duties were made payable only in English, American and German gold and English silver. Liberian silver was not acceptable, which fact has served to depreciate the Government's money.

The demand for a reform of the judiciary was based upon the plea that Liberian judges were corruptible and unfit for office, and that foreigners could not ob-

tain justice in the courts. The records of the courts do not indicate that such a charge is a just one. During the last twenty-five years there have been fifty-two cases in which foreigners have been involved; twenty-nine of these were decided in favor of the foreigners, fifteen in favor of Liberia; the remainder were either remanded for retrial or sent up to the Supreme Court.

It is a question as to whether British subjects are capable of executing the necessary reforms in this, a republican form of government. Trained as they are in a monarchical country and in colonial service of the same, they do not comprehend thoroughly the principles of a representative democracy. They are dictatorial and autocratic and therefore fail to understand institutions where the people rule. This has been verified in the actions of Englishmen on the ground. Their reform methods smack of the British colonial policy, and will not do for Liberia.

Liberia has now turned to America, after whom she is modeled. American institutions are reproduced here in miniature. The American Commission recently appointed by President Taft is in Liberia investigating conditions. The members will see the needs of this Republic and make a report. No one knows exactly what the American Government will do for Liberia. That depends upon the findings of the commission. The people know what they want and have asked for those things.

These needs the *Liberian Register*, the

administration organ of the Government, states in its issue of May 30th. In a semi-official statement intended apparently for the eyes of the commission which had just arrived in Monrovia, it declares America should meet the needs of Liberia in these four ways:

"The people of Liberia wish the United States or capitalists of that country to take over our public debt. And we wish to say right here and now, that there is no desire to repudiate one cent of our national obligations, no matter how it came to stand against us. It is not very large, and we believe that if refunded at a reasonable rate of interest and on terms that are fair to our creditors and just to ourselves, the debt can be easily managed.

"They desire the United States to supervise our fiscal affairs and see to the collection of our customs, etc., providing men to do so who are especially experienced in this class of work. This is intended not only to train our young men who may be employed in the financial department of the government, but to assure those who may come to our rescue in the payment of the debt that we mean to protect them in every way possible. Liberia wants to live, but she wants to be just to all men. She realizes that she needs friends, fair friends, friends who want her to live and will so assist and advise as to give her a chance to do so. This she confidently believes the United States will do.

Reorganization Needed.

"The people feel that there are some other departments of the government which need reorganization and strengthening, namely, the military, interior, postal, educational, agricultural and judicial, by the new and possibly more modern methods that experienced men from the United States would doubtless introduce. They realize that the government may not be financially able to employ all of such men that she may need, but a few must be secured if substantial progress is to be made.

"In the fourth and last place, our little republic has lost so much territory in the adjustments of her boundary from time to time that our people would like, if possible, to come to some such agreement with the United States as will secure the presence of at least one of her representatives on all such occasions to assist in guarding the interests of Liberia.

New York and The Fighting Tenth



THE fighting Tenth Cavalry, which, as the historians have it, saved the day and the life of Colonel Roosevelt at the battle of San Juan Hill, marched through the streets of New York City on Monday, July 26th, in what was perhaps the most remarkable demonstration given Negro soldiers since the civil war. New York, rich and poor, black and white, turned out to welcome the Negro fighters on their return from two years' Philippine service, and if the plaudits of "Well done" can repay the soldiers then the famous Negro regiment must know that its work has not been in vain. There were two battalions of the regiment in line, the third having been in this country some time.

Everywhere along the line of march, from the staid financial district, through which they passed, to the residential thoroughfares, the cavalrymen were met with vociferous cheers. Crowds stood along the curbs as they passed. The eager colored population seemed to have turned out en masse.

When the parade was over the troopers were escorted to the Sixty-ninth Regiment Armory, where they were feasted and heard their exploits lauded in spirited speeches. Then, at night, the cavalrymen went to Sulzer's Harlem River Park, where a vaudeville show was provided. When the day was done and the troopers

went back to the transport Kilpatrick they were tired but gleeful.

The cavalrymen passed through the city in their parade without their horses. It was not so easy for them to march the nine miles or so that the committee of colored citizens had arranged, for they are more used to making distance astride their steeds. But the troopers did not wince. They had left their horses in the Philippines, where they spent three years before getting their orders to go to Fort Ethan Allen. At the fort there will be fresh mounts for them.

The pier at Wall Street, where the Kilpatrick was moored, was alive early in the morning with colored men and women, who wanted to catch a glimpse of the dark-skinned fighters before they went out on parade. The pier was so swarmed that police reserves had to be called out to clear a way for the committee of the day.

While the troopers were getting ready to start their march colored bands played ragtime and National airs, amid the wild plaudits of the crowds. At 11 o'clock Gen. Wood, commander of the Department of the East, who saw the dash of the Tenth up San Juan Hill, came over from Governors Island, and soon after the parade started.

Gen. Wood was at the head of the line. The Tenth had lost its colonel by death in the Philippines, and his place was taken by Lieut.-Col. Gage. The troopers were preceded by various colored organi-

zations, including eighteen carriages containing the reception committee, speakers and delegates from the various Negro churches and local organizations. Besides the regimental band of the Tenth Cavalry, the New Amsterdam Band, the Colored Vaudeville Benevolent Association Band, and a band composed of Negro youths from one of the industrial schools in Nashville, Tenn., furnished music. One of the impressive sights in the parade was the marching of a score of aged Negroes, members of the J. J. Andrews Post and the Thaddeus Stevens Post of the G. A. R.

Wall Street suspended its rush for the nonce and gave the Negro troopers a greeting as they passed through that thoroughfare on their way to Broadway. Strings of ticker tape were let loose from windows and they fluttered down upon the cavalrymen.

Up Broadway to City Hall Park the troopers marched and then past the City Hall, from the steps of which they were reviewed by Mayor McClellan, alongside of whom stood President McGowan of the Board of Aldermen and a score of other city officials. Mayor McClellan, son of the great civil war general, George B. McClellan, remarked as he surveyed the dark-skinned men who strode with firm tread:

"They are a fine lot of fighters. They are a credit to their flag."

To the strains of inspiring airs the troopers filed up Broadway to Twenty-third Street, to Fifth Avenue, to Fifty-eighth Street, to Eighth Avenue, and along Twenty-fifth Street to the armory.

Perhaps the most violent outburst that

met the troopers was in the west side, at the edge of the San Juan district, where the sidewalks were simply black with their colored admirers. It did not seem possible that any of the colored folk had remained at home. Quite a few of the troopers came from the San Juan district, and their friends turned out and gave them lusty cheers.

On a stoop opposite the Hotel Plaza, on West Fifty-eighth Street, stood Lieut. Col. Charles G. Ayres, retired, who was captain of Troop E of the Tenth when it made its gallant charge upon the El Caney blockhouse. At Col. Ayres's side was his wife, and in her hand as the troopers passed she held the red and white flag that the color bearer of Troop E carried in the San Juan assault.

The troopers recognized the tattered flag and they bowed to Col. Ayres. If there were not an army regulation against it, the cavalrymen would probably have cheered. Col. Ayres recognized some of the troopers, but since the war there have been many changes in the ranks, and there were new faces—those of younger men.

One of those whom the colonel called to as the troopers passed his impromptu reviewing stand was First Sergt. John Taylor of Troop E, who was shot in the leg as he was going up San Juan Hill. The sergeant was at the side of Col. Ayres as the cavalrymen made their brilliant dash, and when the bullet pierced his leg he merely brushed the wound and, with much of a limp, continued on the way up through the fire of the Spaniards.

At the armory the cavalrymen found

some 2,000 or more of colored folk awaiting them. They stacked their guns and went around shaking the hands of those they knew. There were wives, sisters, and children of the troopers in the throng, and the cavalymen were overjoyed at seeing them.

There was room enough in the mess-room for only 200 of the cavalymen to eat at one time, so they had to have their feast in relays. When it was over the cavalymen were given seats of honor in a crescent facing the stage, while the crowd edged as close to them as it could get. J. Frank Wheaton, who officiated as chairman, made a speech glowing with appreciation of the colored troopers, and touched their hearts when he declared that the Tenth, by its deeds of valor at San Juan, had done much to help elevate the colored man in the estimation of the white people of the country.

A chorus made up of colored boys and girls sang a medley of airs with vim. This the soldiers appeared to like particularly. When the children sang the refrain of "Dixie" the cavalymen broke into cheers—the first of the day for them. But when "Home, Sweet Home" came the troopers cheered even louder.

Acting Mayor McGowan came in for another volley of cheers, not alone from the troopers, but from the whole throng, when he made a speech telling the soldiers that every one was proud of them.

"If the people of Vermont don't treat you as you ought to be treated," said the acting mayor, "you come right back here to New York. You will find us ready to receive you, and we will make your life one grand holiday. You have

the respect of our people, not alone those of this city, but of all the country. Any man who wears the uniform of the United States Army is entitled to that respect.

"You have performed valiant service to your country, and it can never be forgotten. God bless you all!"

The Tenth Cavalry is mentioned in histories of the Spanish-American War for its courage at Suan Juan. It went into the war with a complement of twenty-two officers and 450 men. It lost at San Juan two officers and six men, while nine officers and sixty-six troopers were wounded, making a casualty list of eighty-three.

At the battle of Las Guasimas, on June 24th, nine days before the battle of San Juan, in which the Tenth Cavalry also distinguished itself, twenty-two officers and men were either killed or wounded. The Tenth, the Rough Riders, and the First Cavalry were within 900 yards of the Spaniards at Las Guasimas when the enemy opened fire. There was a gap between the Rough Riders and the Tenth, and the former were in danger of being mowed down by the shells of the Spaniards. The Tenth Cavalry, led by Lieut. Col. Baldwin, rushed into this gap, firing a volley into the Spaniards and reinforcing the Rough Riders. This movement, it was said, saved the Rough Riders from a severe loss. The Tenth Cavalry, First Cavalry, and Rough Riders pushed the Spaniards back and took their fortification at Las Guasimas.

In the battle of San Juan Hill the Tenth displayed the same sort of bravery and won the commendation of Col. Roosevelt. The night of the battle the Tenth

Cavalry and the First Cavalry were camped on a hillside about 800 yards from the Spanish fortifications. The Rough Riders were on another slope of the hill. During the night an order was given to the Rough Riders to move up the hill to attack the Spaniards. Near the crest was the firing line of the Second Brigade, in command of Capt. Ayres of the Tenth Cavalry.

As the Rough Riders in reserve went slowly up the hill they saw the fringe of men near the top. An order was given to fire, the officer in command believing the men to be Spaniards. Capt. Ayres, jumping up from the ground, where he had been asleep, shouted:

"Don't shoot or you'll kill your own men!"

The order to shoot was countermanded. Had the Rough Riders fired they would have mowed down men of their own regiment, for it was the silhouettes of the Rough Riders of the firing line that they had seen.

The Tenth Cavalry in this engagement faced a desperate hail of bullets. The Rough Riders and Seventy-first Regiment were in deadly peril when the Tenth dashed forth into the thick of the fight. It is generally admitted that the work of the Tenth in that battle had considerable to do with the ultimate victory.

Col. Ayres has many thrilling incidents to tell of the bravery of the colored troopers in that battle. When the Spaniards were pumping shells into the advancing army, Col. Ayres saw Sergt. Peter McCown of Troop E dash forward with the colors of the troop held aloft.

"Let 'em shoot, boss," cried McCown

to Ayres. "They can't hit this flag."

They did shoot the flag—they punctured it with bullets—but the plucky colored sergeant did not release his hold. He emerged from the battle unscathed.

Private Blue was another colored trooper whom Col. Ayres regards highly. Blue was in the thick of the fight, and when the firing had ceased he had a bullet wound clear through him, just above the right lung. Blue made no mention of it to any one, but bandaged it himself. The next day Blue was waiting upon Col. Ayres and Capt. Beck at breakfast. They noticed that his right arm hung limp.

"Why don't you hold your arm up?" asked Col. Ayres.

"I can't, sir," was the reply.

"Why?"

"Oh, sir, just because I've got a bullet wound in me, and it hurts my arm."

Col. Ayres told him to show the wound. Blue did so. The bullet had entered just below the shoulder blade and had come out at the back in a straight line. Blue didn't wince. He was turned over to a surgeon and rested up a few hours, then went about his duties.

"The Tenth Cavalry was full of just such men as Private Blue," said Col. Ayres. "There never were men more brave," concluded the ex-commander.

The Tenth Cavalry, after going to Washington following its return from the war, went to various posts, and then started on a trip by gradual stages around the world, finally reaching the Philippines. It has taken the troopers sixty-five days to come from the Philippines.

It was twenty-nine months ago that the Tenth left San Francisco, and during

its stay in the Philippines it has been stationed at Fort William McKinley, near Manila. There the men made a good record, for besides, a well-disciplined body they won a cup as the champion baseball players of the station, also captured a cup offered by the Army and Navy Club of Manila for polo, and won universal praise for their singing.

The warmth of the reception and the impression made by the soldiers while in the city before leaving for Fort Ethan Allen, at Burlington, Vt., may be gained from the following editorial typical comment taken from the New York *World* under the caption "Lest We Forget":

"It is a regiment with a record, and a regiment worth seeing—lean, hard, square-shouldered troopers, proud of themselves and their service, proud of their officers, proud of their flag and their country, as good soldiers ought to be. Yet the grandfathers and grandmothers of these cavalymen were slaves, with no rights that the white man was bound to respect.

"Forty-six years lie between the draft riots and the crowds that applauded the Tenth Regiment yesterday. It means much to the progress of the Negroes of America that they have produced such a regiment with such a record. Men who have proved their willingness to die for their country are surely entitled, for themselves and for their people, to the ordinary guarantees of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness which every white American claims as a birthright. They deserve to feel that for themselves as for every other American the Republic is opportunity.

"When the next great crisis comes in the struggle for human liberty the city that applauded the Tenth Regiment yesterday may have a keener understanding than it once had of Lincoln's immortal lines: 'And there will be some black men who can remember that with silent tongue and clenched teeth and steady eye and well-poised bayonet they have helped mankind on to this great consummation.'



The Negro in Politics

By HARRIS DICKSON

We believe that it is important that the Negro should know what is being said against as well as for him. Herewith we carry the case the white South makes out against him politically. Judge Dixon, a true spokesman for his people, says the Negro has been eliminated from politics because of his ignorance and irresponsibility, but the Negro under the restraint is meeting the qualifying tests, and the South's attempts to eliminate him can therefore be only temporary. Under the restraint the South is deteriorating, becoming "degraded in its modes of thought," says the Judge. This article is worthy of the calm consideration of every intelligent Negro.—EDITOR.

(From Hampton's Magazine.)



VER and over again I have been asked by my friends in the North: "Why don't you want the Negro to vote? Why should Southerners object to a Negro majority electing public officers?"

Over and over I have given the same answer, "Because we have tried it."

Generally the man from New England will listen to no argument; he sees only one Negro to the one hundred of population in his part of the country and his theory holds good. Neither will the man from Mississippi listen to argument on the other side; he sees fifty-eight and one-half Negroes to the hundred, and theories vanish in the face of such a fact. If Massachusetts had 1,641,127 Negroes—or the same proportion as Mississippi—Massachusetts would have a condition. With only 31,974 Negroes Massachusetts has a theory.

Washington County, Miss., has 17,125 more negroes than the combined States of Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Maine. The South with its condition, is in position to speak frankly to New England with its theory.

The experience of the District of Columbia will illustrate quite clearly the reasons for the South's attitude. Directly after the war, and sorely against its people's will, the national capital was forced into an experiment with Negro suffrage, which, from 1871 to 1874, proved to be Negro domination.

Such men as W. W. Corcoran, G. W. Riggs, Horatio N. Easby, Columbus Alexander, and many others, petitioned Congress to change the form of government, so as to disfranchise them all and get rid of the black voter. A Republican administration, under Gen. Grant, wiped out the entire system.

The travesty of it is that *Washington furnishes the first instance in Anglo-Saxon history where white men have voluntarily surrendered their franchise rights in order to take the ballot from the Negro's hand.* This was no trivial matter, nor did it receive hasty consideration. The District of Columbia pays more taxes than the citizens of any one of the following States: Alabama, Arkansas, Maine, Mississippi, Nevada, South Carolina, and Vermont. It has a greater population than Delaware, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Utah, or

Wyoming. By right of numbers they would have been entitled to two United States senators and one representative in Congress. Yet these people prefer to violate the ancient principle, "No taxation without representation," for which their ancestors fought a bloody war.

Let us glance at the history of the District of Columbia. From the creation of the District, about 1783, to 1812 the City Council of Washington was elected by the white males, who were possessed of certain qualifications, but the mayor was appointed by the President. In 1812 the mayor was made elective. At this time there were about 800 free Negroes and 3,200 slaves in the District.

The color line was maintained until January 8, 1867, when Congress abol-

ished every distinction of color and property, except as to eligibility for office. This last distinction was obliterated by the act of March 18, 1869.

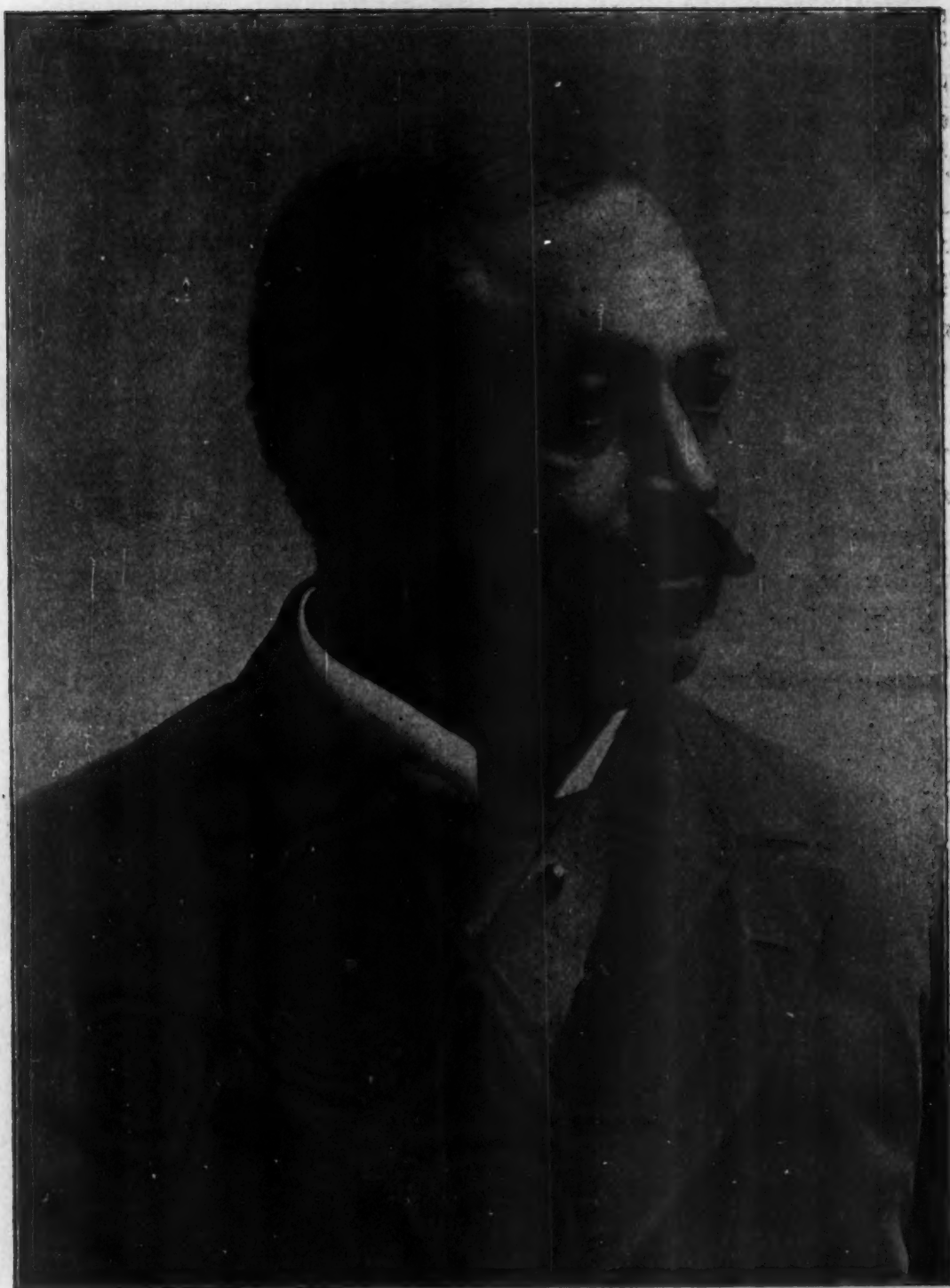
Meanwhile great changes had taken place in the population and importance of the District. Free Negroes had increased 1,300 per cent., while the slaves showed an absolute decrease, being in 1860 only $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the population. Congress passed the District emancipation act in 1862, and appropriated money to pay loyal citizens for their slaves.

At that time the people dreaded a black avalanche, and besought Congress to protect them against it. That was not done. Hordes of fugitives and contrabands came pouring in. Between 1860 and 1870 the Negro population increased from 14,316 to 43,404. There was no work for these people to do. It was not the prospect of work which attracted them. Like the moth to the light, they flew straight at the dome of the Capitol, and fluttered helplessly to the ground beside it. The same fatal fascination endures to this day: thousands of deluded Negroes believe that their eternal happiness is secure if they can get to Washington. To do what? Nobody knows. It is part of the Negro phenomena. There are many traits of the Negro which must be accepted without argument, because no man can give their reasons. But they came to Washington in flocks and droves and they had to be cared for.

These were the general conditions in 1865, when the question of Negro suffrage first arose. Bear in mind that this followed immediately on the heels of a successful war, when enthusiasm ran riot,



RALPH W. TYLER
Auditor of the Navy



BLANCHE K. BRUCE
Late Senator from Mississippi



JUDGE ROBT. H. TERRELL

and Lincoln's assassination was fresh. A special election was held and violent agitation brought out a full vote. The City of Washington cast thirty-five votes in favor of Negro suffrage and 6,556 against; Georgetown cast two votes in favor of and 813 against. These voters were not prejudiced Southerners; they were merely white men in the face of peril.

Congress overrode the President's veto and made 30,000 negroes into sovereign electors. By the civil rights bill of 1869 Negroes were qualified to hold any office in the District. But this was not enough. The District of Columbia must have a separate territorial form of government. Such was the act of February 21, 1871.

The Governor, Council, and board of Public Works were appointed by the President. The members of the House of Delegates were elected by the people. Adventurers and agitators, such as were described by Mayor Wallach, massed large bodies of ignorant Negroes, imported them in camps from Virginia and Maryland, ostensibly as laborers, but really as voters, and carried elections by their ballots. Within less than a year an investigation was demanded of "the worst government in the United States." But the investigation resulted in nothing.

Throughout this debate both Democrats and Republicans concealed the paramount reason for this wholesale disfranchisement. It was a ticklish situation. The Republicans were then engaged in dosing the South with Negro suffrage. Southerners in Congress swore that their home-folks were taking the medicine according to directions—and relishing it. It would never do for the Republicans to admit that their "favorite prescription" was bad medicine for the District of Columbia. The Democrats, on the other hand, could not afford to rise up and howl, because that would drag their own election methods into the limelight—bulldozing, ballot-box stuffing, and the like. But everybody knew and nobody denied that the menace of the Negro's presence constituted the sole reason for the abolition of suffrage in the District of Columbia.

The nation, through its Congress, set the example of disfranchising the Negro. State by State, almost the entire South has followed that precedent. The reasons



COLLECTOR CHAS. W. ANDERSON
Present Political Leader

of the States were identical with those of the national government, but their methods were different. The States were restricted by the Federal Constitution, while Congress exercised untrammelled jurisdiction over the District of Columbia. Washington had only three years of this nightmare, which lasted for eight years in the South.

It has been asserted that these eight years of Negro rule cost the South more in dollars and cents than the enormous expenses of the war, added to the money value of 4,000,000 of liberated slaves. This takes into account only the obvious items of the increased public debt, ignoring the stupendous amount of private pillage. This statement has been denied, and the truth can never be accurately known.

The fact is, unquestioned and beyond all doubt, that a war-desolated country in a time of profound peace and abject poverty, suffered from every imaginable

form of thievery and speculation. Millions of acres of the best plantation lands were sold for taxes and their owners turned adrift. Many rich plantations did not raise enough cotton to pay their taxes. In theory the lands were not confiscated; in fact they were.

President Lincoln's views were well known. They were moderate and differed little from those of conservative Southern men of to-day. Lincoln believed that Negro slavery was violative of the fundamental principles of free government. So did Washington, Jefferson, Madison—and millions of living Southerners.

Lincoln often expressed his conviction that there was an ineradicable racial difference between the white man and the black man which absolutely and forever precluded the possibility of political or social equality. He believed that the relative position of superior and inferior must always exist, and that the white man was the superior of the black.

Men of the South who are now alluded to as alarmists go no further than this. What Lincoln said in the spirit of prophecy, they reaffirm in the light of experience. Lincoln's statesmanship cannot be derided as a Southern prejudice. Had Mr. Lincoln lived the South would have been spared the ravishment and desolation that followed her defeat upon the field of battle.

After Lincoln's death the State governments of the South were summarily ejected and a military despotism erected in their stead. With this the South had no quarrel. It was a natural, logical sequence of war.



JUDSON D. LYONS

Ex-National Committeeman from Georgia.
"Last of the Old Guard."

All the wealth, intelligence and white blood of the South was set aside, allowed no voice in working out its own destiny. This, too, might well be deemed a necessity of war.

In the maelstrom of changes the Negro suddenly found himself possessed of the privilege of the ballot, to which the white man had struggled upward inch by inch for many centuries. It was thrust into the Negro's uncomprehending palm. Without tutelage, without preparation, ignorant and superstitious, he was pushed forward upon a stage where the bravest had faltered and the wisest been in doubt. What wonder is it that he misused the most sacred responsibility of humankind?

The black inundation that swept over the South bore with it a horde of adventurers and renegades—creatures who represented nothing at home; they would have been reckoned crows of ill repute in any flock. From the North they came with all their worldly possessions in a carpet-bag—and men called them "carpet-baggers." A few Southern "scalawags" joined them.

Southern people did not understand what is now plain to them, that the carpet-baggers were rarely men who commanded any sort of respect at home. They were mostly men who had eluded army service—bounty jumpers and speculators in human misery. If honest men, North and South, had understood, the veil of doubt and distrust would long ago have been torn away. But they did not understand; they could not understand, and there were many partisans who did not want to understand.

Every white man who had in any way

affiliated with the fallen fortunes of the Confederacy was disfranchised. He had to stand aside while the carpet-bagger massed the Negroes at the polls. These evildoers went among the blacks, filling their credulous souls with evil whisperings. They curried favor with Negroes by disgusting personal familiarities, preaching social equality and violence. They kept dinning it into the Negro's head that he was not the equal of, but superior to, his old master, because he had power and the old master had not. No Negro on earth can stand that sort of talk. It bred uncounted outrages. The nights were seasons of terror, and even in daylight women dared not walk abroad. The Negro learned the exceptional crime, that being among the unspeakable lessons these white fiends taught him.

The active process of reconstruction began under the act of Congress of March 23, 1867. By this act conventions were called in all the seceded States to establish constitutions for new civil governments loyal to the Union. Various conventions came into being—called "Black and Tan Conventions," because of the yellow and black Negroes who formed a great proportion of their members. By these conventions constitutions for the Southern States were adopted, under which it was destined that the long battle for white supremacy should ultimately be fought.

The result of these new constitutions was practically the same in the various States. They intended, as far as possible, to strip the white man of all political

power, and place that power in the hands of the Negroes so as to make it easy for alien adventurers to get and hold office.

This carpet-bag-Negro-scalawag system built up a most remarkable electorate and subsequently brought about a state of affairs impossible of comprehension to men who did not live in the South. The Negro vote was used by unscrupulous adventurers to put themselves in office. Their sole purpose was to plunder the country, in which they had no intention of making a permanent abode. They were grazing in a rich pasture, and without remorse laid crushing debts upon the people for posterity to pay.

The war freed the Negro from his Southern owner, but turned him over, shackled and bound, to the control of the carpet-bagger. This great, simple, black man thought he had a vote. But he hadn't. His vote was very much like the cotton that he made under the credit system in later years—frittered away before he picked it. It never came into actual possession. In the beginning he bartered his bauble for glittering promises.

The carpet-baggers sold him four little stakes painted red, white and blue, at one dollar apiece — bargain-counter prices. With these stakes the Negro went upon the land of his late owner and chose a farm for himself, driving a peg at each corner. He was told that they were issued by the United States Government, and nobody would dare to disturb them. By the magical power of these little stakes the land would become his after the election was over, provided he voted right. The simple-minded Afri-

can loyally carried elections for his friends, and when the voting was done, began to clamor for his forty acres and the mule.

It was not the high-class Northern man who made these promises. Federal commanders repeatedly warned the Negro against believing them, and told the Negro very plainly that no lands would be confiscated for his benefit; he must work for what he got or settle on the public domain. But the credulous Negro preferred to follow the noisy demagogue.

The Negro's vote never did belong to him even in the heyday of his power. The system was like this: The carpet-bagger managed the election; he had the ballot box so placed that no voter could approach it without passing between two lines of men. At the end next the box several stout fellows—generally black—were stationed to examine every Negro's ticket before he was allowed to deposit it. If the ticket was not "straight," Mr. Negro had to change it.

The Southerner's dread of emancipation came through his fear of the orgies and excesses of the liberated slaves. He, better than any man, knew how much firmness was required to discipline and control those people. The nightmare of Southern men and the intangible terror of Southern women became a reality, grotesque and horrible. Carpet-baggers promised the Negroes that the property of their ex-masters should be confiscated and given to them. Negroes left the fields and thronged to the cities, a mass of starving, hysterical vagrants. Cotton brought fabulous sums. The mills of the

world were eager to get it, and prices cut no figure in the demand. But the Negro was too busy with politics, too thoroughly absorbed in his little red, white and blue stakes to bother his head about raising cotton.

The lands of the South lay idle and the Negroes had nothing to eat. Federal commanders issued rations, coupled with a warning that the Negroes must go to work, and not look to the Government for support. The world had turned upside down, and it is hard to tell who was the more uncomfortable, the Negro on the top or the white man at the bottom. The natural order of things had been violently subverted, and in violence it was to right itself again.

There was another bitterness—of dollars and cents, which every schoolboy can sum up, the figures are so glaring. The following are not isolated instances of corruption, nor selected facts. They are pebbles taken at random from the mountainside—parts of the universal condition.

The debt of Alabama in 1866 was approximately \$5,000,000. Elevation of the Negro immediately elevated this debt to \$25,000,000 with a contingent liability of \$14,000,000. Assessed values in 1860 were about \$430,000,000, upon which State and county taxes of \$840,000 were collected. In 1870, although values had fallen to \$150,000,000, \$2,500,000 were collected. Roughly speaking, upon *one-third* as much property, *three* times the taxes were levied. Taxes had multiplied ninefold. This seems to show that after four years of exhausting warfare, the State debt amounted to a trifle more than

one per cent. of assessed values. During four years of peace—and Negroes—the liabilities exceeded twenty-six per cent. of assessed values.

Taxation in Georgia increased sixfold. Here is a railroad story: Before the war Georgia owned a railroad that ran from Dalton to Atlanta, bought and paid for out of the State Treasury. This railroad cleared annually about \$600,000, almost enough to pay the expenses of the State. Georgia lived very happily with her railroad. The carpet-bag governor could not overlook such an opportunity. The first month Governor Bullock and his friends took charge of it they paid \$25,000 profits to the State; the next month \$20,000. After that there were no profits—to the State. The carpet-baggers were consistently opposed to government ownership of railroads anyhow.

Another matter: The governor of Georgia has a "contingent fund" for extraordinary and unforeseen expenses. None had ever used it, except one, who spent \$7,000, regarded as a very large amount. The carpet-bag executive touched it up to the lively tune of \$416,620.90. It may be remarked that to avoid impeachment he left the State. That is about all he did leave. Nearly all of these governors got the running habit.

The debt of Louisiana increased from \$10,000,000 in 1861 to \$41,000,000 in 1871. The excess of expenditures over receipts, General Assembly, 1871, was near \$9,500,000. All of this under a constitution which prohibited the State from incurring liabilities in excess of \$25,000,000.

Mississippi had no debt in 1860 and offered particularly fine pickings. Carpet-bag assessors set a pace which amateur highwaymen found it difficult to maintain. Before the war it cost \$19,000 in commissions to assess \$600,000,000 worth of property. In 1871 valuations had fallen to \$180,000,000, but it cost \$175,000 to assess it. The imported assessor came twenty-seven times higher than the domestic variety. Think of it, *the cost of assessing alone was just about twice the entire rate of State taxation before the war!* Then, on top of this, a swarm of officials in each county got their rake-off. It was a pretty game.

The annual cost of the Mississippi State Government in prosperous times before the war was about \$300,000; after the war in profound peace and abject poverty, the carpet-bag-Negro combination spent from \$1,000,000 to \$1,500,000. Add to this the expense of the counties—insignificant before the war—and we have a huge total of \$8,000,000. Some people thought the black-and-tan menagerie at Jackson, the State capital, was not worth the price.

Here are some typical Mississippi items, before and after making the Negro experiment:

	Before.	After.
Public		
Printing	\$8,028	\$52,976
Judiciary..	80,000 to \$140,000	320,000
Legislative		
Session.	30,000 to 70,000	360,000

In Adams County, one of the most cultured and richest communities, the taxes were *435 times greater* than the State taxes had been prior to the war.

In Claiborne County the Negro circuit MOORE SEVENTEEN

clerk could not read or write; the sheriff was a Negro. The representative in the Legislature was a bootblack, and the people paid a tax which was 3,350 per cent. of the State tax in 1865. The county printer of Hinds County for the first nine months of his term received \$6,300, a sum far greater than that paid the State printer before the war. Hundreds of similar instances could be cited.

Who were the thieves? Everybody. Everybody had to let the other fellow steal a little so as not to be disturbed himself. Negroes and aliens who had no interest in the country were the chief plunderers.

This condition lasted until 1875, when the white men, by various and devious methods, began to get control of their own communities. They did not consider technical niceties in their methods, which were, in part, the Ku Klux Klan, ballot-box stuffing, intimidation, election frauds. Means were nothing, the end was everything.

The most effective means employed to restore order was the celebrated Ku Klux Klan. This organization, whose very name became a synonym for mysticism and terror, speedily drew upon itself the eye of the civilized world. The impression was given out among the Negroes that these strange giants, seen only at night, headless and breathing fire, were ghosts of the Confederate dead risen from their graves to wreak vengeance upon those who injured the

widow and the orphan. Warnings were sent to the insolent, and the criminal; and punishment followed. Among the superstitious Negroes—who believed in the "conju" man, the "evil eye," and "voodoo"—it spread a fear which kept them in their cabins after the sun went down.

The country became quieter, the purposes of the Klan were largely accomplished, and it disbanded. Then it was that outlaws assumed its disguises and perpetrated many a horror in its name. Under the rigid anti-Ku Klux statutes numerous arrests were made, exposing Negroes and carpet-baggers masquerading as Ku Klux. But the Klan got the discredit of it all.

As soon as the Southern States had thrown off their shackles they set about fortifying their camp and holding the ground that they had won. The white man cast about him for means to preserve by law the status he had gained by force and strategem. He could never be safe while he recognized a large body of ignorant, corrupt and unreliable voters, such as were created by the black-and-tan constitutions. The necessity for them may be shown by a grouping of the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi and Louisiana. The combined white population of these States is 4,413,176; the Negro population 4,433,605.

How to eliminate the Negro voter was a difficult proposition. There could be no wholesale abolition of suffrage as in the District of Columbia, because that would leave the States without a government of any kind. They had only one

barn, and couldn't burn it down to get rid of the rats. The Negro could not be disfranchised because he was a Negro, nor because he had been a slave—the paramount Constitution of the United States forbade that. A means must be devised which would stand the test of the courts, a differentiation which would apply to black and white alike, yet which would exclude the Negro.

In doing this the South was simply harking back to first principles. The Southern idea of to-day is the national idea of yesterday. Here are the facts: When the war came on the Union was composed of thirty-seven States; thirty-one of these required the voter to be "white." Three other states required that the elector should own a certain amount of property and possess a considerable degree of intelligence. *In only three States* was the suffrage unrestricted. Only a few months before the Emancipation Proclamation the people of Illinois declared by overwhelming popular majorities that they were opposed to Negro immigration and suffrage. Five New England States voted in 1865 against conferring the voting power upon the Negro. There was little difference of opinion North and South. Not until 1870 was the Negro ex-slave allowed to vote in Pennsylvania.

Throughout the South new conventions were called and many plans proposed to accomplish by law what had already been accomplished in fact—disfranchise the Negro. The framers of those new constitutions proceeded upon firm ground. First, no man should have

a voice in the affairs of the State who does not contribute his due share to the support of the State. Good. This proposition cannot be denied. Therefore, all persons—white or black—must pay their taxes before they are qualified to vote. The property tax is compulsory and was made a lien on the property; but the poll tax is optional, the individual may pay it or not. "No pay no vote" is a fair rule. The rule is fair, but how did it work? Simply enough. The careless Negro would not pay.

Taxes must be paid *when due*—about the first of the year. Elections are generally held in the fall. The wise man who understands the Negro knows that the Negro never looks ahead. He never plans or builds for the future. In the summer time he never thinks of the cold time that is coming. In January, at tax-paying time, when there is no excitement and nothing to arouse his interest, he never foresees that he may want to vote in November. So, if he owns property, he pays the tax *which the law compels*, and leaves unpaid the two dollars poll tax. If he owns no property and is liable only for a poll tax, he does not hunt up the tax collector at all.

The white man pays his poll tax in January because he knows that November will surely come. With precisely equal opportunities the white saves his vote while the Negro loses his.

Another proposition: A voter, white or black, must possess sufficient intelligence before he is allowed to vote. The wisdom of this cannot be disputed. This has long been the law of our most en-

lightened States. An educational qualification was prescribed which instantly disfranchised half the Negro population. But—a great big "but"—the South provided free Negro schools for Negroes, paid for in the main by the whites, where the children of the black man were given every opportunity to meet the requirements of the law. The whites went to great pains and expense to legislate him out of politics, then spent money like water to educate him back.

The educational and poll-tax clauses have been the main factor in excluding the Negro from political supremacy. The "grandfather" clause in Alabama, the "ex-soldier" clause in Virginia, and the "understanding" clause in Mississippi were all intended to enfranchise certain classes of whites, so inconsiderable in number as to be without relative importance. This "understanding clause" has been the subject of so much misunderstanding that it is worth explanation. It reads, "every elector shall be able to read any section of the constitution of the State; or he shall be able to understand the same when read to him, or give a reasonable interpretation thereof." This is not intended to *dis*-franchise anyone, but was inserted for the benefit of a small class of whites, good citizens, although unable to read and write. It cut no figure in the general result.

The plain truth is that the Negro has been temporarily, but effectually, eliminated from the politics of those States which have the greatest black majority, for which these States make no apology. And nine men out of ten in the North would be secretly glad if he could be

wiped off their own voting lists. Practical politicians of one party are getting tired of having to buy him over and over again at every election, and those of the other party wish they did not have to offset his vote. But each side dickers with him, and hesitates to make the break for fear it might fail.

The Negro in the South to-day is a political potentiality rather than an active force. At the present time his actual vote is not even a factor in shaping Southern politics; it is a mere negative deterrent. That deterrent, however, is sufficiently strong to make the Solid South. Its effect is to degrade the white man in his modes of thought.

The South had always been independent in thought and aggressive in action until the carpet-bagger and black-and-tan horror darkened every hearthstone in the land. White men dare not differ upon the tariff, finance, foreign relations, or any other of the great questions that confront the nation as a whole. If the white men of the South were to separate and stand opposed to each other upon any matter of political principle, it might pave the way for the Negro to step in as the umpire of their disputes. This dread whips them instantly into coalition. What might happen in Alabama did happen in Virginia and North Carolina. In North Carolina the white men divided, and over 30,000 of the disaffected left the Democratic party. These united with the same number of white Republicans in the mountains, of Whig ancestry and Union sympathies. They organized the 100,000 Negro votes and captured the government.

At present there is no Republican party in most of the Southern States. A few white place-hunters corral the Negro delegates every four years, pay their expenses to a national convention, and let them shout for a nominee. Then they push the Negro aside and parcel the pie.

What is known as the "Lily White" movement is an effort to get away from this condition and organize a Southern Republican party on national lines. In many portions of the South there are white men of the highest standing who would be Republicans if they dared. The principle of a protective tariff, for instance, being a local issue, would draw a strong support among sugar planters of Louisiana, cotton mill men of the Carolinas, and iron workers in Alabama. But these whites cannot join hands with the Negro, nor risk a repetition of the horrors of 1869 to 1875. So they go along year after year voting the Democratic ticket. To vote a Republican ticket would destroy their local influence. It is more important to have a white policeman, and a white sheriff in the court house than to fix a sugar differential, settle the Philippine problem, or name a President.

The shackles of political servitude were struck from black limbs and riveted on the white. One-third of the nation to-day stands afraid to open its lips and voice its sentiments upon any political question, depriving this free republic of the advice and counsel of men foremost in laying its foundation.

As the matter now stands the Negro is disfranchised chiefly on the ground of illiteracy. But the educational qualifica-

tion for suffrage is a barrier of straw that a generation may utterly destroy. For instance, in the State of Mississippi there are 50,000 more black males of voting age than white males of voting age. This, upon the basis of manhood suffrage, would put every State office in the hands of Negroes and the renegade whites who fatten on their folly. Also, perhaps, they could elect Negro sheriffs and Negro constables. It would unquestionably secure a Negro majority in the Legislature. This would result in the appointment of Negro judges.

There are in Mississippi a quarter of a million more Negro children of educable age than there are white children. Out of the generous annual appropriation by the State it should be easy within a few years to teach a large proportion of these black children so that they would be "able to read any section of the Constitution of the State." Each of these Negro children who is able to read any section of the Constitution which is written in plain English will comply with that requirement of the law, and can vote.

The much discussed understanding clause of the Mississippi Constitution is in the disjunctive—that is to say, if a man can *read* the Constitution it matters not whether he *understands* it. If he cannot himself read the Constitution he must be able to understand it when read to him, and "give a reasonable interpretation thereof." The purpose of this clause was not to disfranchise the Negro, but to permit the registration of a few white men who were unlearned in books, but who came from many generations of

self-respecting, self-governing Anglo-Saxon freemen.

It is a matter for the future what action the Southern States would take if the Negroes should en masse accept their free opportunities, qualify themselves under the law and attempt to assume the reins of government under that law. It may safely be said that not the Southerner alone, but this nation as a whole, would do something, and do it quick. No man, North or South, could view with complacency one-third of this free republic in the situation of Hayti and San Domingo.

If it were possible to imagine the 50,000 Negro majority in Mississippi electing a Negro governor, it then becomes impossible to conceive of anything that would be half so disastrous to the material and moral interest of the Negro himself. Negroes of property would be unwilling to trust their lives and fortunes to a government of Negroes unhampered and uncontrolled. Even more than the white man do their necessities require a stable form of government, such as they have never been able to create or maintain. Thoughtful men of their race know that elevation to power does not bring the Negro to a corresponding sense of responsibility.

This is from the standpoint of the Negro himself, his safety for the present, his salvation for the future. It does not take into consideration the unthinkable horror of white women living in a country that is exposed to his unchecked domination. Back of it all and deeper than it all the Negro knows his own limita-

tions. He knows he is incapable of governing the country, or any portion of it.

The Negro will never attempt it. He finds it easy to fiddle around the edge of the white man's politics, smoke a candidate's cigars, and make a big noise denouncing somebody who is a thousand miles away. It is easy to march in a parade, tote a torch, and get a free drink.

This is easy and he loves it. But he knows it would be difficult to gain a seat in the saddle, and impossible to maintain his position after he got it.

The responsibility of the white American—North and South—is great. The American Negro, for good or evil, is what his white neighbor makes of him; no more, no less.

EDITORIAL

BREWER AND THE NEGRO

We have grave questions before us, questions which we must meet and meet without prejudice, meet fairly, consider reasonably, and strive to decide honestly.

One is the Negro question. The Negroes don't seem to be troublesome up here, but go down South, and in some States the major portion of the population is colored. If they were all as intelligent as some colored men I know there would be no trouble; but there is a vast mass of ignorance and passion there which has to be controlled, and we in the North cannot control it. It must be controlled and regulated by our brothers of the South. And instead of trying to make the work more burdensome and difficult, it is the duty of every true man to lend a helping hand to every effort on the part of our Southern brethren to give a better life and a more intelligent life to the Negro.

Thus spoke Justice David J. Brewer last Thursday in an interview on the problems of the American nation. When that stalwart exponent of even-handed justice spoke on the solution of the Negro question he was right. These grave questions must be met, and we are glad that at least another Supreme Court Justice besides Justice Harlan, from

Kentucky, recognizes that fact. As the President recently said, the Negro problem cannot be escaped. It can only be settled for all time by being met without prejudice, met fairly, considered reasonably and decided honestly. But the statements of Justice Brewer on the Negroes and the ignorance and the passion of the South are misleading. The inferences are wrong. The mere fact that "the major portion of the population" in some Southern States is colored should not make the Negroes "troublesome." In a Republic the majority cannot properly be considered "troublesome" because of numbers to a minority. Likewise, the Negroes have not a monopoly of the ignorance and passions of the South. There are five million illiterate and degraded poor whites in the South. An open concubinage, an unfathered, mixed generation tells the terrible tragedy of the white Southerner's passion. These, too, should be controlled and regulated by "our brothers of the South."

We hope that Justice Brewer voices the present sentiments of his fellow

justices. In the past the Supreme Court has consistently evaded the Negro question. The Supreme Court is thus assisting in complicating the question and confusing the issues involved, by postponing its adjustment. Let the Supreme Court meet the Negro question fairly and honestly.

WHAT TO DO

It is important to the Negro people to know the directions in which they are strong, as individuals and as a race. It is important to know these things, because it is there where they are strong they can hope to succeed.

Do you habitually ask yourself this question, when you are seeking, for yourself or your children, an education, in choosing a profession, in looking for a job? Do you habitually ask yourself, what can I do best? What can I do better than any one else around me? Find some one thing you can do and do it with all your might.

One of the greatest living American painters, Henry O. Tanner, knew where he was strong. By training and temperament, the son of a bishop, he knew that religious art was his forte. He prepared himself. To be prepared for an emergency is to have that emergency arise. Feeling the public pulse, he discerned the field and opportunity for re-

ligious art. Henry O. Tanner has given to the world those marvelous reproductions of Bible scenes, which have brought him both fame and fortune.

It does not pay to do anything that you can't do well. If you are doing something poorly, you had better hunt another job. If you are not doing your work as well or better than some other fellow, you may be sure that your employer is looking for another man.

As a race and as individuals, we should study to find out the thing we can do best. No matter whether it is tilling a farm, running an elevator or painting a picture, it is the thing we do well that pays.

THE BASIS OF ATCENDENCY

The above is the title of a new book just issued from the press of Longmans, Green & Co., New York, by Edgar Gardner Murphy, of Montgomery, Ala. Every educated Negro as well as white man should read this book. In many ways it is by far the bravest, sanest and most courageous utterance that has come from a Southern white man. The gist of the book is to emphasize the fact that no race can replace another race without permanently degrading itself. The book, however, should be read carefully to be thoroughly understood.



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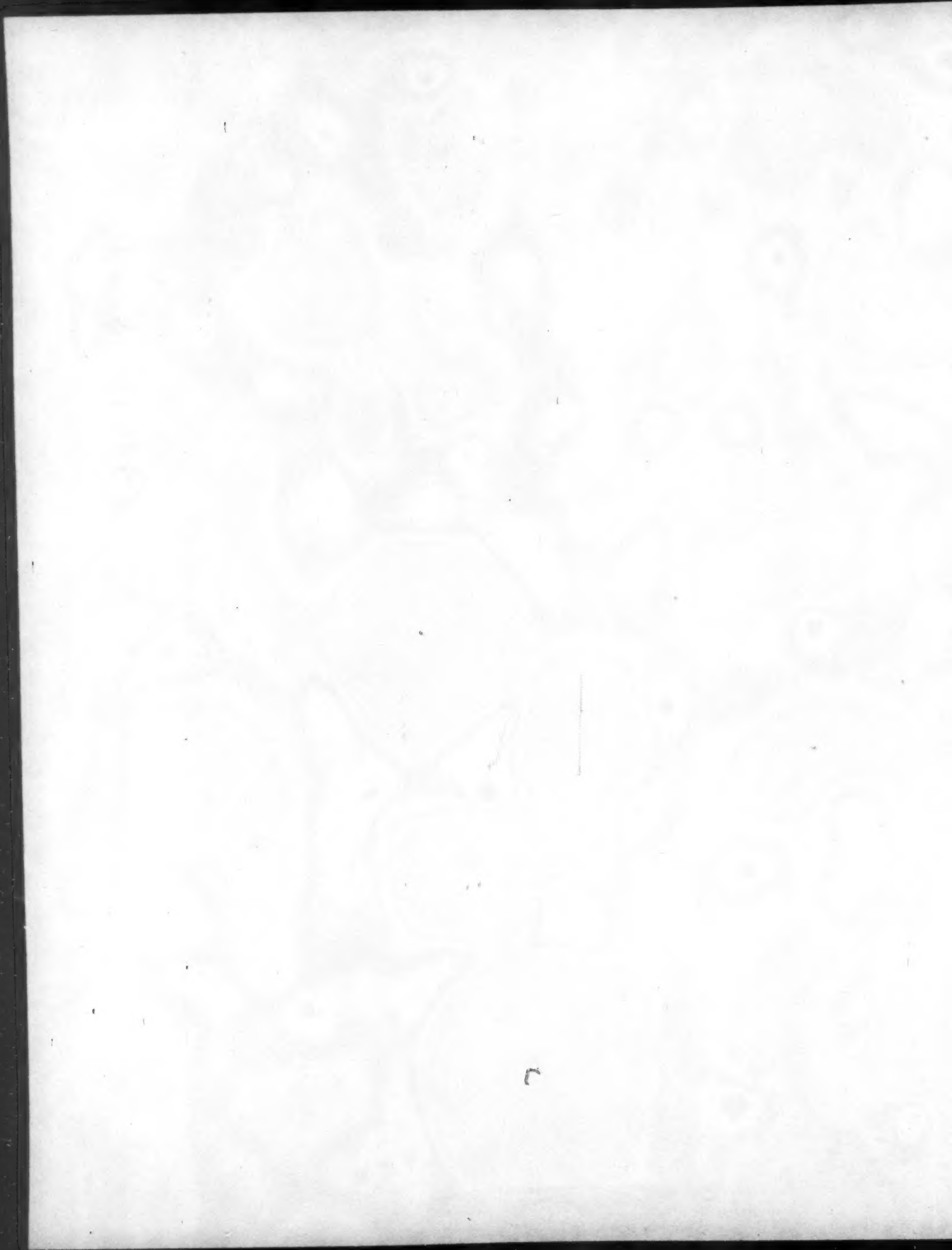
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